STUDIES IN
THE GEOGRAPHY OF ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL INDIA

By

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Dedicated to

the Memory of my Teacher

the Late Prof. H. C. Raychaudhuri

to whom I owe my interest in the

study of Ancient Indian Geography

FOREWORD

Out of the papers I have published in various periodicals, a fairly large number deal with problems relating to the geography of ancient and medieval India. Since some of these were prescribed by a few Universities for the post-graduate students in the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, my friends were pressing me for a long time to publish the important among my geographical studies in the form of a monograph so that they might be easily available to the students of the subject. The present volume is the outcome of the request. My thanks are due to the celebrated publishers, Messrs. Motilal Banarsidass, who kindly offered to publish the book.

A few of my geographical studies have been excluded from the volume for particular reasons. A notable omission is the *Śākta Pīṭhas* which is a religio-geographical study originally published in the *Journal of the* [*Royal*] *Asiatic Society* [*of Bengal*], Letters, Vol. XIV, 1948, pp. 1-108. It has been excluded because it is a rather lengthy dissertation and also because copies are available in the market.

Many of the chapters of the present volume were published as independent discussions of particular topics. But, in some of them, more than one article have been brought together. This is particularly the case when different aspects of a problem were discussed on different occasions, especially in the course of controversies. In a few cases, discussions on more problems than one have also been clubbed together for the sake of the facility of presentation. Thus about 30 articles, published during the period of about quarter of a century since 1935, have been presented in the book in the twenty-two Chapters and two Appendices. The sources of the papers

incorporated in the different Chapters of the book and the Appendices are indicated below :

I—*Sarūpa Bhāratī* (Lakshman Sarup Commemoration Volume), Hoshiarpur, 1954, pp. 315 ff.; cf. *Journal of the* [*Royal*] *Asiatic Society* [*of Bengal*], Calcutta, Letters, Vol. V, 1939, pp. 407 ff.

II—*Indian Historical Quarterly*, Calcutta, Vol. XXI, 1945, pp. 297 ff.

III—*Ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, 1951, pp. 215 ff.

IV—*Indian Culture*, Calcutta, Vol. VIII, 1941, pp. 32 ff.

V—*Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXVIII, 1952, pp. 123 ff.; cf. *Hindusthan Review*, Patna, May-June, 1941, pp. 617 ff.

VI—*Bhāratīya Vidyā*, Bombay, Vol. V, 1944, pp. 34 ff.; *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXIII, 1947, pp. 62 ff.

VII—*Journal of Indian History*, Trivandrum, Vol. XXXIV, 1956, pp. 263 ff.; cf. *Orissa Historical Research Journal*, Bhubaneswar, Vol. IV, Nos. 3-4, 1955-56, pp. 51 ff.

VIII—*Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXI, 1945, pp. 61 f.; *ibid.*, Vol. XXII, 1946, pp. 233 ff.; *ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, 1947, pp. 65 ff.; *ibid.*, Vol. XXIV, 1948, pp. 78 f.; *Actes du Congres International Oriental*, Tome XXI, Paris, 1948, pp. 199 ff.

IX—*Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Banaras, Vol. VIII, 1946, pp. 135 ff; *Indian Culture*, Vol. VII, 1940, p. 111.

X—*Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Calcutta, Letters, Vol. XIX, 1953, pp. 33 ff.

XI—*Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Bombay, 1947, pp. 91 ff.

XII—*P. V. Kane Presentation Volume*, Poona Oriental Series, Poona, 1941, pp. 469 ff.

XIII—*Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXII, 1946, p. 315; *ibid.*, Vol. XXIV, 1948, p. 78; *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. XII, 1950, pp. 50 ff.

XIV—*Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXVI, 1950, pp. 291 ff.

XV—*Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Patna, Vol. XL, Part i, 1954, pp. 8 ff.

XVI—*Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society,* Rajahmundry, Vol. IX, Part 3, 1935, pp. 1 ff.

XVII—*Indian Historical Quarterly,* Vol. XXI, 1945, pp. 56 ff.

XVIII—*Journal of Indian History,* Vol. XXXII, 1954, pp. 283 ff.

XIX—*Siddha Bhāratī* (Siddheshwar Varma Presentation Volume), Hoshiarpur, 1950, pp. 291 ff.

XX—*Bhāratīya Vidyā,* Vol. XI, 1950 pp. 183 ff.

XXI—*Ibid.,* Vol. VI, 1945, pp. 123 ff.; *ibid.,* p. 240,

XXII—*Indian Archives,* New Delhi, Vol. V, 1951, pp. 60 ff.

Appendix I—*Journal of Indian History,* Vol. XXXVII, 1959, pp. 407 ff.

Appendix II—*Ācārya Bhikṣu Smṛti Grantha,* I.J.T. Mahāsabhā, Calcutta.

In presenting this work to the students of early Indian geography, I am painfully conscious of a few of its shortcomings. The foremost of these is that the book does not contain any map. This is partly due to my pre-occupations and partly to certain practical difficulties. I also feel that, extremely busy as I am, I may have failed to make the work as free from errors and blemishes as I very much liked to do. For such defects, I only crave the indulgence and sympathy of the readers. If my attention is drawn to serious errors, I shall no doubt try to correct them in the next edition. Some such mistakes have already been corrected in the *Addenda et Corrigenda.*

D. C. SIRCAR

CONTENTS

Subjects		Pages
	Foreword	v
I.	Chakravarti-kṣetra	1
II.	Puranic List of Peoples	17
III.	Puranic List of Rivers	39
IV.	Account of Fifty-six Countries ...	78
V.	Gauḍa	110
VI.	Bengal	123
VII.	Orissa	134
VIII.	Daśārṇa, Aśmaka and Kuntala ...	150
IX.	Gurjara and Kuśa-dvīpa	160
X.	Saknāt-Sankāt-Sanknāt	165
XI.	Gaṅgā	172
XII.	Vāhlīka and Vāhīka	184
XIII.	Malaya and Mahiṣa	188
XIV.	Kṛmilā	193
XV.	Caurāsī	198
XVI.	Gonarda	206
XVII.	Kokāmukha	217
XVIII.	Gayā	224
XIX.	Udabhāṇḍa	231
XX.	Dacca	236
XXI.	Kālapriya and Brahmaśilā	241
XXII.	Cartography	246
	Appendix I—Kandhārapura ...	251
	Appendix II—Kākandīnagarī ...	254
	Addenda et Corrigenda	257
	Index	263

I

CAKRAVARTI-KṢETRA

1. *A Hyperbolic and Conventional Element in the Description of Indian Rulers.*

It is well known that the poets at the courts of medieval Indian rulers often grossly exaggerated the achievements and status of their patrons. Sometimes even a small landlord enjoying the right of collecting taxes from a few villages only was endowed with epithets befitting an emperor. Thus several manuscripts copied about the beginning of the 18th century for Rājanārāyaṇa, the insignificant zamindar of Kāśijorā in the Midnapur District, West Bengal, represent the landlord as दोर्दण्ड-प्रबल-प्रताप-परम, प्रबलप्रतापान्वितराजाधिराज and महाराजाधिराज.[1] To illustrate the tendency to exaggerate in the court poets of the early-medieval kings of India, one may refer to the description of Candella Dhaṅga (c. 950-1002 A. D.) in an inscription from Khajuraho.[2]

It is implied that the Candella king crushed the rulers of Kāñcī, Andhra, Rāḍhā and Aṅga and had the queens of the defeated monarchs imprisoned in his capital. The claim is, however, absurd on the face of it. In the first place, it is extremely doubtful whether Dhaṅga at all came into conflict with the four kings mentioned, even if we take the rulers of Aṅga and Rāḍhā to have been merely viceroys of the mighty Pāla emperor of Eastern India. Secondly, if Dhaṅga actually came into con-

1. Cf. *Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, Vol. LVIII, pp. 17-18. Similarly Rājā Kṛṣṇacandra of Nadia is described as *bhūp-augh-ārcita-caraṇa, kṣmāpati-vṛinda-sevita*, etc. (K. C. Ray, *Kṣitīśavaṁśāvalīcarita*, pp. 227 ff.).

2. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 145, verse 46 :

का त्वं कांचीनृपतिवनिता का त्वमंध्राधिपत्नी
का त्वं राढापरिवृढवधूः का त्वमंगेन्द्रपत्नी ।
इत्यालापाः समरजयिनो यस्य वैरिप्रियानां
कारागारे सजलनयनेंदीवराणां बभूवुः ॥

flict with the above-mentioned kings, it is more doubtful that he came off victorious in all the four cases. Thirdly, even if he may have succeeded in defeating the four kings, it is really impossible to think that he succeeded also in carrying off their wives. Fourthly, supposing that he actually captured the queens of Kāñcī, Andhra, Rāḍhā and Aṅga, he would have naturally placed them in his own harem instead of his prison.

It may, however, be admitted that such hopeless exaggeration is less noticeable in the description of the Indian rulers of the earlier period of history. For this reason, the earlier the king is, the greater is our reliance in his claims, in spite of the obvious fact that there is always a considerable amount of exaggeration in the royal *praśastis* composed by the court poets of Indian monarchs. But definite statements such as the mention of the personal names of adversaries are generally more trustworthy than vague claims. Whatever be the nature of exaggeration, there is certainly an amount of truth in the claims put forward in such records as the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta and the Tirumalai inscription of Rājendrachola I.[1]

Although exaggeration with reference to the achievements of Indian kings is a remarkable feature of royal *praśastis* of the medieval period, it is by no means absent even in the earliest records, both literary and epigraphic. There are the following two *gāthās* in the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, XIII, 5, 4. 11 and 13: (1) अष्टासप्ततिं भरतो दौःषन्तिर्यमुनामनु गङ्गायां वृत्रघ्नेऽबध्नात् पञ्चपञ्चाशतं हयान् इति । (2) परःसहस्रानिन्द्रायाश्वान् मेध्यान् य आहरद् विजित्य पृथिवीं सर्वामिति । According to the first *gāthā*, Bharata, son of Duṣyanta,[2] performed seventyeight Aśvamedhas on the Yamunā and fiftyfive on the Gaṅgā, i.e. one hundred and thirtyfive horse-sacrifices in all. But according to the second *gāthā*, Bharata celebrated more than one thousand Aśvamedhas after having conquered the whole earth. Critics can hardly fail to note the difference between the definite nature of the statements in the first *gāthā* and the vagueness of the number

1. *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 254 ff.; *Ep. Ind.*, vol. IX, pp. 229 ff.
2. *Duḥṣanta* is an older form of *Duṣyanta*.

'more than one thousand' and of the expression 'after having conquered the whole earth' in the second *gāthā*.

In connection with the tradition regarding Bharata's conquest of the whole earth, attention may be drawn to the Purāṇic legends according to which the dominions of Bharata and his descendants, the Bhāratas, extended over that tract in the south of Jambudvīpa, which later came to be called Bhāratavarṣa after that monarch.[1] Again, the great Maurya emperor Aśoka (c. 272-232 B.C.) claims in the Dhauli version of his Fifth Rock Edict to have employed the Superintendents of the Religious Department, called Dharma-mahāmātra, throughout the earth (*sava-puṭhaviyaṁ*), although all the other versions of the above Rock Edict read *sarvatra vijite* (i.e. everywhere in the dominions of Aśoka) in that context.[2] It is interesting to note in this connection that Aśoka's Minor Rock Edict I seems to refer to his empire as Jambudvīpa while he is described in Buddhist tradition as a *Dvīpa-cakravartin*, i.e. the ruler of the entire Jambudvīpa.[3] As is well known, Aśoka's empire included India with the exception of Assam and certain small kingdoms to the south of Mysore but together with parts of Afghanistan, and was no doubt only a small portion of the earth. In the fourth and fifth centuries A. D. , the Gupta emperors, who held sway over the major part of Northern India but succeeded in extend-

1. Cf. *Mahābhārata*, I, ch. 73, 131 ; *Vāyu*, ch. 45, 76 ; *Viṣṇu*, II, 3, 1. There are diverse traditions regarding the origin of the name Bhāratavarṣa. According to many of the Purāṇas, it was derived from Bharata, son of Ṛṣabha and grandson of Nābhi who was a descendant of Vaivasvata Manu (*Bhāgavata*, XI, 2, 15 ff. ; *Brahmāṇḍa*, 34, 44 ; etc.). In certain Purāṇic passages (*Matsya*, 114, 5 ; *Brahmāṇḍa*, 49, 10), however, the name Bhāratavarṣa is said to have been derived from Bharata which was just a second name of Manu himself. But the *Bhāratī-prajā*, *Bhāratī-santati*, etc., of the Purāṇic passages appear to refer to the Bhārata people (probably the Bharatas of the Vedic literature ; cf. Raychaudhuri, *Studies in Indian Antiquities*, p. 79) represented clearly as the descendants of Bharata Dauṣyanti in the *Mahābhārata*. Traditions, moreover, represent Bharata Dauṣyanti as a *cakravartin* or *sārvabhauma*, i.e. a universal monarch or emperor (*Mahābhārata*, I, 73, 129 ; cf. *Bhāgavata*, IX, 20, 33).

2. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 24.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 50 ; Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, s.v. *Asoka*.

ing their political influence over parts of Sourthern India as well claimed to have either conquered or ruled over 'the whole earth'. Thus the prosperity of Samudragupta (c. 340-76 A. D.) is mentioned as *sarva-pṛthivī-vijaya-janita*;[1] them inister of Candragupta II (c. 376-414 A.D.), who accompanied his master in the latter's campaign against the Śakas of Malwa, describes the monarch as having the aim of *kṛtsna-pṛthvī-jaya*;[2] Kumāragupta I (c. 414-55 A.D.) is said to have ruled over the *pṛthivī* that was encircled by the four seas ;[3] Skandagupta (c. 455-67 A.D.) is described as the conqueror of the whole earth (*pṛthivīṁ samagrām*) ;[4] and Budhagupta (c. 576-95 A.D.) is represented as the ruler of the earth.[5]

Although often the word 'earth' was used to indicate the dominions even of a petty ruler, the expression 'whole earth' was used to signify the kingdom of an imperial, or at least an independent, monarch.

2. *Imperial Rulers of India and their Sphere of Influence.*

The word *cakravartin* means an imperial ruler, often also called *samrāṭ* (literally 'paramount ruler'), *eka-cchatra* (literally, 'one who alone enjoys the umberella or the insignia of sovereignty'), or *sārvabhauma* which literally means 'the ruler of all land (i.e. the whole earth)' but actually indicates a paramount ruler of a territory without owing allegiance to any overlord. The literal meaning of *cakravartin* is likewise 'one rolling everywhere without obstruction' or 'a ruler, the wheels of who sechariot roll everywhere without obstruction'. Two types of this class of rulers are indicated by the words *diśām-pati*, i.e. 'the ruler of the quarters', and *dig-vijayin*, i.e. 'the conqueror of the quarters', the word *diś* being used to signify the territories lying in all the four sides of the capital or original kingdom of the monarch in question. The distinction between the *dig-vijayin*, i.e. the ruler who acquired an empire by means of conquest, and the

1. *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 259.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 272.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 293.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 301.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 323.

diśām-pati, i.e. one who inherited an empire from his forefathers is, however, not clearly maintained in literature.[1]

According to the Kauṭilīya *Arthaśāstra* 'the land which extends north to south from the Himālaya to the sea and measures east to west a thousand *yojanas* is the *kṣetra* (i.e. the sphere of influence) of a *cakravartin* (i.e. an imperial ruler of India)'.[2] Rājaśekhara's *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* says that a *samrāṭ* (practically the same as a *cakravartin*) is one who conquers the whole land from the southern sea (the Indian Ocean) to the Himavat (Himālaya).[3] In the same breath, Rājaśekhara also says that the sphere of influence of a *cakravartin* is the land measuring one thousand *yojanas* and lying between Kumārīpura (Cape Comorin) and Bindusaras (in the Himālayas according to the Purāṇas) and that the conqueror of the above *kṣetra* is a *cakravartin*.[4] Thus the sphere of influence of an Indian imperial ruler was the Purāṇic Bhāratavarṣa which is described as lying 'between the Himālaya and the sea (*Himālayādā samudram*)' or as 'bounded in the south, west and east by the sea and in the north by the Himavat resembling the string of a bow'.[5] This land

1. Three classes of the *cakravartin* are mentioned in Pali literature, viz. (1) *cakravāla-cakravartin*, (2) *dvipa-cakravartin* and (3) *pradeśa-cakravartin*. The first is the ruler of all the four *dvīpas* or continents constituting the earth according to the Buddhists, the second of only one of the *dvipas* and the third merely of a portion of a *dvipa*. The classification is, however, apparently theoretical.

2. IX, 1 : देशः पृथिवी । तस्यां हिमवत्समुदान्तरमुदीचीनं योजनसहस्रपरिमाणमतिर्यक् चक्रवर्तिक्षेत्रम् ।

3. G. O. S. ed., p. 92: तत्रेदं भारतं वर्षम् । अस्य च नव भेदाः । इन्द्रद्वीपः कसेरुमान् ताम्रपर्णी गभस्तिमान् नागद्वीपः सौम्यो गन्धर्वो वरुणः कुमारीद्वीपश्चायं नवमः । पञ्चशतानि जलं पञ्च स्थलमिति विभागेन प्रत्येकं योजनसहस्रावधयो दक्षिणात्समुद्रादद्रिराजं हिमवन्तं यावत्परस्परमगम्यास्ते । तान्येतानि यो जयति स सम्राडित्युच्यते ।

4. *Loc. cit.* : कुमारीपुरात्प्रभृति बिन्दुसरोऽवधि योजनानां दशशती चक्रवर्त्तिक्षेत्रम् । तां विजयमानश्चक्रवर्त्ती भवति ।

5. Raychaudhuri, *Studies in Indian Antiquities*, pp. 77-79. *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, LVII, 59 :

दक्षिणापरतो ह्यस्य पूर्वेण च महोदधिः ।
हिमवानुत्तरेणास्य कार्मुकस्य यथा गुणः ॥

Cf. *Vāyu*, XLV, 75-76 :

उत्तरं यत्समुद्रस्य हिमवद्दक्षिणं च यत् ।
वर्षं तद्भारतं नाम यत्रेयं भारती प्रजा ॥

is sometimes referred to as the country extending 'from the Himālaya to Rāma's bridge'[1] or 'from the Himālaya to the sea-shore'.[2] In some Purāṇic passages, e.g., in *Kūrma*, I, 35, 41, as well as records like some versions of Minor Rock Edict I of Aśoka, the same land seems to be called Jambudvīpa, although according to other popular conceptions Bhāratavarṣa was merely a part of Jambudvīpa.

That the sphere of influence of an Indian imperial ruler did not extend beyond the limits of Bhāratavarṣa, seems to be supported by a statement of Arrian that 'a sense of justice, they say, prevented a king from attempting conquest beyond the limits of India.'[4]

The conception of a mighty king or his generals performing *dig-vijaya*, that is to say, conquering 'the whole earth', permeates the entire body of the epic and Purāṇic literature. Epic heroes like Karṇa and the brothers of Yudhiṣṭhira are described as conquering the quarters or the whole earth. Karṇa completed his *dig-vijaya* by conquering all the countries in the north, east, south and west and is described as returned to Nāga-sāhvaya (Hastināpura, capital of his patron Duryodhana) 'after having subdued the whole earth'.[5] It is, however, interesting to note that the lists of countries lying in the four different directions and conquered by the epic *dig-vijayins* are practically the same as the lists of countries and peoples of Bhāratavarṣa as found in the geographical sections of the epics, Purāṇas and other works. Stories of the epic *dig-vijayins* were no doubt very popular in the age of the Gupta emperors. This is proved not only by the references to epic heroes in records dating from the second century A.D. but also by epigraphic and literary records of the Gupta period. Epigraphic references to the Gupta monarchs either as rulers or as conquerors of 'the whole earth' have already been indicated above. Raghu's conquest of all the quarters in the *Raghuvaṁśa* (Canto IV) of Kālidāsa who lived

1. Ray, *D.H.N.I.*, Vol. II, p. 1171.
2. *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 205.
3. *Sel. Ins.*, p. 50.
4. M'Crindle, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 209.
5. *Mahābhārata*, III, 253, 22 ; cf. II, 26-32.

in the fourth-fifth century A.D. is obviously modelled on the epic description of the *dig-vijayas* of Karṇa, the Pāṇḍava brothers and others. Mallinātha in his commentary on the *Raghuvaṁśa*, IV, 85, rightly explains the conquest of quarters as indicating *eka-cchatratva* or universal sovereignty. Raghu began his conquest in the eastern countries on the eastern sea or the Bay of Bengal. Thence he marched towards the south and conquered the Pāṇḍya king. He moved then towards the west and subdued the Pārasikas or Persians. Then he reached the north where he conquered the Hūṇas on the Vaṅkshu or Oxus and the lord of Prāgjyotiṣa or Kāmarūpa (modern Assam, in the Himālayas). The description of Raghu's *dig-vijaya* in the *Raghuvaṁśa* was imitated by a *Praśastikāra* at the Paramāra court, who describes the Paramāra king Lakṣmadeva as having defeated Aṅga and Kaliṅga in the east, Cola and Pāṇḍya as far as the Tāmraparṇī river in the south, and the Turuṣkas on the banks of the Vaṁkṣu in the north.[1] The substitution of the Hūṇas by the Turuṣkas is interesting to note. The 'whole earth' in such cases, it may be pointed out again, does not mean the entire land between the North Pole and the South Pole. It simply refers to Bhāratavarṣa regarded as the sphere of influence of an imperial monarch. But even that is also in a conventional sense.

Although the *cakravarti-kṣetra* comprised the whole of Bhāratavarṣa, the claim of the conquest or rule over it on behalf of a historical monarch must naturally be regarded as conventional. Numerous Indian rulers are actually known to have made the claim ; but, in none of the cases, the king in question can be taken as the lord of the whole of Bhāratavarṣa extending from the Himālayas to the Indian Ocean. These kings were rulers directly of only a part of India, although they conventionally claimed suzerainty over the whole of the country. Sometimes contemporary monarchs are found to make similar claims. There is, therefore, no doubt that the kings claiming conquest of or rule over the whole earth or all the quarters were merely imperial rulers as opposed to those of the subordinate rank. It is also to be remembered that a ruler was often regarded as

1. See Bhandarkar's List, No. 170.

a *dig-vijayin* type of *cakravartin* even if he succeeded in conquering a petty rival. The frequent representation of a prince inheriting his father's kingdom as one who conquered the kingdom by the prowess of his own arms is a convention of the same type. By way of illustration, it may be pointed out that, in theO mgodu grant[1] of Skandavarman II, his grandfather Skandavarman I, son and successor of Kumāraviṣṇu described as the performer of an Aśvamedha sacrifice, is called *sva-vīry-ādhigata-rājya* probably owing to the fact that Skandavarman I succeeded in overcoming an obstacle that stood in his way to his paternal throne.

3. *Boundaries of the Cakravarti-kṣetra.*

We have seen above that the *kṣetra* (sphere of influence) of a *cakravartin* (an imperial ruler of India), often mentioned as 'the whole earth', was regarded as bounded by the Himālaya or Bindusaras (in the Himālayas) in the north and by the Indian Ocean, Cape Comorin or Rāma's bridge in the south. It has also been shown that sometimes it was described as bounded by four seas on all the four sides. The conception of the *catuḥ-samudra* is no doubt conventional, as Bhāratavarṣa is bounded only on the east, south and west by seas (viz. the Bay of Bengal, the Indian Ocean and the Arabian Sea respectively). There is no sea in the north of this land. Prof. Raychaudhuri suggests that any lake or lakes to the north of India in Central Asia may have been wrongly conceived as a sea and this fact may have been responsible for the conception of India having four seas in four directions. The northern sea, however, may have actually been the deserts of Central Asia often represented in literature as 'the sea of sand'.[2] The conception of the *catuḥ-samudra* is also found in the Vedic literature where the expression is usually explained by the word *antarikṣa*, i.e. sky in the four directions. According to the Purāṇas,[3] the world consists of seven concentric *dvīpas* or islands each of which is encircled by a sea, the central island called Jambudvīpa being surrounded

1. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, pp. 249 ff.
2. The suggestion is supported by the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, IV, 172, 279, 294; VIII, 2763. See also Stein's trans., Vol. I, p. 75.
3. Cf. *Mārkaṇḍeya*, 54, 6-7.

by the salt sea.[1] Bhāratavarṣa was the southernmost part of this Jambudvīpa, although, as we have seen, sometimes the two names are used almost synonymously. The mythical conception of the seven seas may have owed its origin to the Vedic *sapta-sindhu*, i.e. the seven rivers of north-western Bhāratavarṣa. Whatever that may be, the Purāṇic conception of the earth being encircled by the sea coupled with the Vedic idea of the *catuḥ-samudra* may have been responsible for the later conception of the *cakravarti-kṣetra* (called 'the whole earth') bounded by the seas on all the four directions. In the literary and epigraphic records, often definite localities (which are mythical in some cases) are mentioned in the north, east, south and west of 'the whole earth' or *cakravarti-kṣetra* and, as expected, they practically correspond to the boundaries of ancient Bhāratavarṣa.

Bāṇa's *Kādambarī*[2] gives the following boundaries of the kingdom of an imaginary emperor named Candrāpīḍa: Gandhamādana (on which Badarikāśrama in the Himālayas is situated) in the north, Setubandha in the south, the mythical Udaya or Sun-rise mountain in the east and the mythical Mandara (apparently located here in the western or Arabian sea just as the mythical Sun-set mountain in a similar context in the *Harṣacarita*) in the west. In the *Harṣacarita*[3] of the same author, the boundaries given in connection with king Harṣavardhana's attempt to conquer the quarters are : Gandhamādana in the north, Suvela (the hill on which the city of Laṅkā was believed to have been situated) in the south, the mythical

1. There is another Purāṇic conception according to which the earth consists of four great *dvīpas* resembling four petals of a lotus. The pericarp of this earth-lotus is the Meru or Sumeru mountain. Similar is the conception of the Buddhists as found in the Pali literature : 'In each *cakravāla*, between the *cakravāla-parvata* and the outermost of the rocky circles which environ Meru, lies a vast ocean. In this ocean are situated, equidistant from each other, four *mahā-dvīpas*, 'great islands' or continents. On the north is Uttarakuru, on the south Jambudvīpa, on the east Pūrvavideha and on the west Aparagoyāna. Of these, Jambudvīpa is larger than the rest, being a hundred thousand *yojanas* in diameter, and includes India.' Cf. *Vāyu Purāṇa*, ch. 34 ; Childers' Dictionary, s.v. *mahādīpo*.

2. Ed. Siddhāntavāgīśa, Calcutta, pp. 194-195.

3. N. S. Press ed., p. 217.

Sun-rise mountain in the east and the mythical Sun-set mountain in the west.

Similarly, in the colophon of Vijñāneśvara's *Mitākṣarā*, commentary on the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*, the dominions of the author's patron, the later Cālukya monarch Vikramāditya VI (c. 1076-1127 A.D.) of Kalyāṇa, are described as bounded by Rāma's bridge in the south, Himālaya in the north, western sea (Arabian Sea) in the west and the eastern sea (Bay of Bengal) in the east.[1]

We have also a large number of inscriptions supporting the same traditions. The Meharauli inscription[2] of Candra, who is apparently no other than the Imperial Gupta monarch Candragupta II (c. 376-414 A.D.), describes the king as having conquered the Vaṅgas (of Southern Bengal) in the east, crossed the seven mouths of the Sindhu (or Indus, all of which fall into the Arabian Sea) in the west, defeated the Bālhikas (inhabiting the Balkh region on the Oxus) in the north and subdued certain people on the shores of the southern sea (Indian Ocean). A Mandasor inscription[3] describes king Yaśodharman (532 A.D.) of Malwa as having subdued the whole land bounded by the Lauhitya (Brahmaputra) in the east, the Mahendra (i. e. Mahendragiri in the Tirunelveli District) in the south, the Himālaya in the north and the western sea (Arabian Sea) in the west.

1. आ सेतोः कीर्त्तिराशे रघुकुलतिलकस्या च शैलाधिराजाद्
आ च प्रत्यक्पयोधेश्चटुलतिमिकुलोत्तुङ्गरिङ्गत्तरङ्गात् ।
आ च प्राचः समुद्रान्नतनृपतिशिरोरत्नभासुरांघ्रिः
पायादाचन्द्रतारं जगदिदमखिलं विक्रमादित्यदेवः ॥

2. *Sel. Ins.*, p. 276 :
यस्योद्वर्त्तयतः प्रतीपमुरसा शत्रून्समेत्यागतान्
वङ्गेष्वाहववर्त्तिनोभिलिखिता खड्गेन कीर्तिर्भुजे ।
तीर्त्वा सप्त मुखानि समरे येन सिन्धोर्जिता वाह्लिका
यस्याद्याप्यधिवास्यते जलनिधिर्वीर्यानिलैर्दक्षिणः ॥

3. *Ibid.*, p. 394 :
आ लौहित्योपकंठात्तलवनगहनोपत्यकादामहेन्द्राद्
आ गङ्गाश्लिष्टसानोस्तुहिनशिखरिणः पश्चिमादा पयोधेः ।

Both the above records belong to the age of the Imperial Guptas when the convention of the *cakravartin* and his *kṣetra* appears to have developed its popularity. There are numerous similar references in later records.

King Devapāla (c. 810-50 A.D.) is described in his records[1] as the only lord of the whole land bounded by the source of the Gaṅgā (Himālaya) in the north, Rāma's bridge in the south, Varuṇa's abode (western sea) in the west and Lakṣmī's abode (eastern sea) in the east. A similar list of the boundaries of the *cakravarti-kṣetra* seems to be quoted in connection with the victories of the army of Devapāla's father Dharmapāla (c. 770-810 A.D.) where mention is made of Kedāra (in the Himālayas) in the north, the Gaṅgā-sāgara confluence in the east and Gokarṇa (in the North Kanara District of Mysore) and other holy places in the south and west.[2] The Karhad plates[3] of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III (c. 939-67 A.D.) of Mānyakheṭa (Malkhed in the former Hyderabad state) say that he subdued the rulers of the whole land bounded by the eastern sea in the east, the western sea in the west, the Himaśaila (Himālaya) in the north and Siṁhaladvīpa (i.e. Ceylon) in the south. In the records[4] of the Paramāra kings of Malwa, king Bhoja (c. 1010-55 A.D.) is said to have enjoyed the earth extending from the Kailāsa (in the Himālaya) in the north, the Malaya mountain (Travancore hills) in the south, the mythical Sun-set mountain in the west and the mythical Sun-rise mountain in the east. In the inscriptions of the Vijayanagara rulers, Vīranarasiṁha (c. 1506-09 A.D.),

1. *Gauḍalekhamālā*, p. 38 :
आ गङ्गागममहितात्सपत्नशून्याम्
आ सेतोः प्रथितदशास्यकेतुकीर्त्तः ।
उर्वीमा वरुणनिकेतनाच्च सिन्धोर्
आ लक्ष्मीकुलभवाच्च यो बुभोज ॥

2. *Ibid.*, p. 36, verse 7.

3. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, pp. 284-85 :
अनमन्ना पूर्वापरजलनिधिहिमशैलसिंहलद्वीपात् ।
यं जनकाज्ञावशमपि मंडलिनश्चंडदंडभयात् ॥

4. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 235 :
आ कैलासान्मलयगिरितोऽस्तोदयाद्रिद्वयादा
भुक्ता पृथ्वी पृथुनरपतेस्तुल्यरूपेण येन ॥

elder brother of the celebrated Kṛṣṇadevarāya (1509-29 A.D.), is described as having ruled over a kingdom bounded by the Setu (i.e. Rāma's bridge) in the south, the mythical Sumeru mountain (to the north of Bhāratavarṣa) in the north, the mythical Sun-rise mountain in the east and the western mountain (the mythical Sun-set mountain) in the west.[1] The boundaries of the *cakravarti-kṣetra* given in connection with the achieve ments of Kṛṣṇadevarāya himself, often in the same inscription, are the eastern mountain (i.e. the mythical Sun-rise mountain) in the east, the mythical Sun-set mountain in the west, the Himācala in the north and the Setu in the south.[2]

It should be remembered that, whenever a king is described as the ruler or conqueror of a territory indicated by four boundaries that may by placed about the borders of Bhāratvarṣa, the claim has to be regarded as merely conventional. There is usually no truth in the claim beyond that the king in question regarded himself as an imperial, or at least an independent, ruler. The conventional nature of such claims is further demonstrated clearly by a verse describing the victories of the Pāla army in the whole area bounded by the eastern land in the east, the valley of the Malaya (Travancore hills) in the south, in the Maru country (Marwar or the Rajaputana Desert) in the west and the Prāleyādri (Himālaya) in the north, as found in the records of different monarchs of the Pāla family of Bengal and Bihar.[3]

1. *Mys. Arch. Surv.*, An. Rep., 1941, pp. 185-86 :
आ सेतोरा सुमेरोरवनिसुरनुतः स्वैरमा चोदयाद्रेर्
आ पाश्चात्याचलादखिलहृदयमावर्ज्य राज्यं शशास ।
2. *Ibid.*, p. 187 :
आ पूर्वाद्रिरथास्तक्षितिधरकटकादा च हिमाचलान्ताद्
आसेतोरर्थिसार्थश्रियमिह सफलीकृत्य कीर्त्या समिद्धः ॥
3. *Gaudalekhamālā*, p. 95 :
देशे प्राचि प्रचुरपयसि स्वच्छमापीय तोयं
स्वैरं भान्त्वा तदनु मलयोपत्यकाचन्दनेषु ।
कृत्वा सान्द्रैर्मरुषु जडतां शीकरैरभ्रतुल्याः
प्रालेयाद्रेः कटकमभजन्यस्य सेनागजेन्द्राः ॥
cf. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXIX, p. 4. Cf. the following passage in an inscription of the Somavaṁśīs of Kosala and Utkala (*IHQ*, Vol. XXII, p. 301) :
सेतुप्रान्तवनान्तरे हिमवतः पर्यन्तभूसीमनि
प्रागम्भोधितटावनिषु कटके पूर्वेतरक्ष्माभृतः ।

Now exactly the same verse is found to have been employed by the Pāla court poets in describing the achievements of no less than four monarchs, viz. Gopāla II (middle of the tenth century), his son Vigrahapāla II (end of the tenth century) and the latter's son Mahīpāla I (biginning of the eleventh century) and great-grandson Vigrahapāla III (middle of the eleventh century).

It will be seen that the following boundaries of the *cakra-varti-kṣetra* are indicated by the epigraphic and literary records discussed above : (1) north—Himālaya, Bindusaras, Gandha-mādana, Kailāsa, Kedāra, the mythical Sumeru mountain, Prāgjyotiṣa or Kāmarūpa, Vaṅkṣu or Oxus and Bālhīka ; (2) south—Indian Ocean, Cape Comorin, Mahendragiri, Setubandha-Rāmeśvara, Suvela, Siṁhala dvīpa and Malaya ; (3) east—Vaṅga, Lauhitya, the mythical eastern or Sun-rise mountain, Bengal, the eastern country and Gaṅgā-sāgara-saṅgama ; (4) west—the mouths of the Sindhu, Arabian Sea, the mythical Mandara, western or Sun-set mountain, the Rajaputana Desert and Pārasīka (Persia). As already pointed out above, these were the traditional boundaries of Bhāratavarṣa, conceived as the sphere of influence of an imperial ruler of India, and they had really nothing to do with the actual territories of the king who is described as the lord or conqueror of the land within the above boundaries.

4. *Conception of two Cakravarti-kṣetras.*

Besides the above *cakravarti-kṣetra* comprising the whole of Bhāratvarṣa, sometimes North India and South India were regarded as separate spheres of influence of the imperial monarchs respectively of Northern and Southern India. In view of the conventional nature of the claim of the status of a *cakra-vartin*, it is interesting to note that sometimes the same king is represented as the lord of the whole of the *cakravarti-kṣetra* in one case but of the partial *cakravarti-kṣetra* comprising either North or South India in another. We have referred above to the description of the Pāla king Devapāla of Bengal and Bihar as the only lord of the whole land bounded by the Himālaya, Rāma's bridge, the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian

Sea. Elsewhere[1], however, the same monarch is said to have subdued the whole land bounded by the father of the Revā (Narmadā), i.e. the Vindhya, in the south; the father of Gaurī, i.e. the Himālaya, in the north; and the two seas (eastern and western, i.e. the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea) in the east and west. These boundaries of North India are no doubt based on Manu's celebrated definition of Āryāvarta.[2] Similar claims are known to have been made on behalf of many other imperial rulers of Northern India. Thus Vīsala or Vigraharāja IV (c. 1053-64 A.D.) of the Cāmana dynasty of Ajmer and Śākambharī is described as having subdued Āryāvarta lying between the Vindhya and the Himādri.[3]

The Sātavāhana kings of the Deccan claimed to have been the lords of Dakṣiṇāpatha, a name often applied to the whole of South India lying beyond the Vindhyas and the Narmadā. The great Sātavāhana monarch Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi (c. 106-30 A.D.) actually ruled over the western part of South India from the Kṛṣṇā in the south to Ākara and Avanti in Malwa in the north. But he claims at the same time to have been the lord of the Vindhya, Ṛkṣavat, Pāriyātra, Mahendra and Malaya mountains which covered practically the whole of the Vindhyan range as well as the Eastern and Western Ghats. That Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi claimed a sort of vague suzerainty over the whole of South India is further indicated by the claim that his chargers drank the waters of the three seas, no doubt meaning the eastern, southern and western seas, i.e. the Bay of Bengal, the Indian Ocean and the Arbian sea. A Sātavāhana king is mentioned in Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita* as the 'lord of the three seas'.[4]

1. *Gauḍalekhamālā*, p. 72 :

 आ रेवाजनकान्मतंगजमदस्तिम्यच्छिलासंहतेर्
 आ गैरीपितुरीश्वरेन्दुकिरणैः पुष्यत्सितिम्नो गिरेः ।
 मार्त्तण्डास्तमयोदयारुणजलादा वारिराशिद्वयान्
 नीत्या यस्य भुवं चकार करदां श्रीदेवपालो नृपः ॥

2. *Manusmṛti*, II, 22.
3. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 215 ff.
4. See *Sel. Ins.*, pp. 196 ff. ; *Harṣacarita*, *op. cit.*, p. 351.

South India conceived as a separate *cakravarti-kṣetra* is mentioned as bounded by the three seas also in the inscriptions of a later date. The Cālukyas of Badami claimed to be lords of the land lying within the three seas : त्रि-समुद्र-मध्यवर्ति-भुवन-मण्डलाधीश्वर.[1] The Mulgund inscription of Pañcāla similarly represents him as the lord of the whole country bounded by the eastern, western and southern seas.[2] The inscriptions of the Eastern Cālukyas, however, refer to the southern *cakravarti-kṣetra* as the land between the Narmadā and the Setu.[3]

Among other epigraphic references to South India as the special sphere of influence of South Indian monarchs, mention may be made of a Kadamba inscription[4], in which the Kadamba king Ravivarman (c. 490-538 A.D.) is represented as the lord of the earth as far as the Narmadā in the north.

5. *The two Cakravarti-kṣetras mentioned together.*

We have seen above that the Paramāra king Bhoja (c. 1010-55 A.D.) is sometimes represented as the lord of the land bounded by the Kailāsa, the Malaya and the mythical Sun-set and Sun-rise mountains. There is another tradition which says that the same Paramāra king ruled for a little over fiftyfive years over 'Dakṣiṇāpatha together with Gauḍa'.[5] There is no doubt that Dakṣiṇāpatha has been mentioned here in the sense of the whole of South India, often conceived as a separate *cakravarti-kṣetra*. That the claim is merely conventional is shown by the fact that Bhoja's dominions did not include any considerable part of South India. But scholars have so long failed to grasp the correct significance of the word *Gauḍa* mentioned in relation to Dakṣiṇāpatha in the above context.

I have little doubt that Gauḍa has been mentioned here to indicate the northern *cakravarti-kṣetra* or Āryāvarta, so that Bhoja is represented as the lord of the entire Cakravarti-kṣetra

1. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 64, etc.
2. *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 307,432.
3. Venkataramanayya, *The Eastern Cālukyas of Vengi*, p. 7.
4. Srikanta Sastri, *Sources of Karnataka History*, p. 24.
5. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 858.

comprising both Dakshiṇāpatha and North India. Thus both the partial *cakravarti-kṣetras* are mentioned here side by side to signify the whole of Bhāratavarṣa conceived as the main *cakravarti-kṣetra*. It is interesting to note in this connection that there is some evidence in support of the name Gauḍa being sometimes applied to indicate the whole of Northern India. The Brāhmaṇical society of South India is usually divided into five classes called the *Pañcha-Drāviḍa*. These classes are : (1) Drāviḍa (Tamil), (2) Karṇāṭa (Kannaḍa), (3) Gurjara (Gujarati), (4) Mahārāṣṭra and (5) Tailaṅga (Telugu). This classification is based on a linguistic division of the South Indian Brāhmaṇas. Although the population of North India can hardly be divided into five linguistic groups with propriety, an attempt was made in imitation of the South Indian classification to classify the Brāhmaṇa society of Northern India into the same number of subdivisions. Strangely, however, the common name applied to the five classes of North Indian Brāhmaṇas was Gauḍa as Drāviḍa is the general name of southern Brāhmaṇas. The divisions of the Northern Brāhmaṇas are : (1) Sārasvata (associated with the valley of the Sarasvatī in the Punjab), (2) Kānyakubja (in Uttar Pradesh), (3) Gauḍa (in Bengal), (4) Maithila (in North Bihar) and Utkala (in Orissa). In these cases, therefore, the name Drāviḍa indicates South India, while Gauḍa signifies North India. We know that the name Gauḍa, originally the name of a part of Bengal, was often used to indicate all the countries of Eastern India. Thus the East Indian style of Sanskrit composition as well as the medieval East Indian alphabet came to be called after Gauḍa. A further expansion of the connotation of the name to indicate the whole of North India is suggested by the classification of Brāhmaṇas referred to above.[1]

1. Some of the points discussed here were raised by me first in *J.R.A.S.B*, Letters, Vol. V. 1939, pp. 407ff. As regards the last paragraph, cf. the section on *Gauḍa* below.

II[1]

PURANIC LIST OF PEOPLES

F.E. Pargiter made some interesting remarks in regard to the historical sections common to several of the Purāṇas. His views[2] may be summarised as follows :

1. Special abbreviations for this Section and the next one :—

Ac—Abhidhānacintāmaṇi.

Bgvt—Bhāgavata Purāṇa, Baṅgabāsī Office, Calcutta.

Bhv—Bhaviṣya Purāṇa.

Bmd—Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa, Baṅgabāsī Office, Calcutta.

Bmh—Brahma Purāṇa, Baṅgabāsī Office, Calcutta.

Bs—Bṛhatsaṁhitā—a Baṅgabāsī Office, Calcutta ; *b* Restored text of the Ms consulted by Al-Bīrūnī (c. 1030 A.D.).

Grd—Garuḍa Purāṇa, Baṅgabāsī Office, Calcutta.

Hv—Harivaṁśa.

Km—Rājaśekhara's *Kāvyamīmāṁsā,* G.O.S. ed., Baroda.

Krm—Kūrma Purāṇa—a Baṅgabāsī Office, Calcutta ; *b* Bibliotheca Indica, RASB, Calcutta ; *c* Veṅkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay.

Mbh—Mahābhārata, Baṅgabāsī Office, Calcutta.

Mk—Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa—a ed. M. C. Pal, Calcutta, 1890 ; *b* Bibliotheca Indica, RASB, Calcutta, 1862 ; *c* Baṅgabāsī Office, Calcutta ; *d* Veṅkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay.

Mts—Matsya Purāṇa—a Baṅgabāsī Office, Calcutta; *b* Veṅkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay ; *c* Ānandāśrama Press, Poona; *d* Restored text of the Ms consulted by Al-Bīrūnī (c. 1030 A.D.).

Pdm—Padma Purāṇa.

Rām—Rāmāyaṇa, Nirṇayasāgara Press, Bombay.

Tks—Puruṣottama's *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa.*

Vj—Yādavaprakāśa's *Vaijayantī.*

Vmn—Vāmana Purāṇa—a ed. M. C. Pal, Calcutta, 1893; *b* Veṅkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay.

Vy—Vāyu Purāṇa—a Baṅgabāsī Office, Calcutta ; *b* Restored text of the Ms consulted by Al-Bīrūnī (c. 1030 A.D.) ; *c* Bibliotheca Indica, RASB, Calcutta ; *d* Veṅkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay ; *e* Ānandāśrama Press, Poona.

2. Cf. *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age,* Oxford University Press, 1913, pp. xxvi f.

The *Bhv* was the first Purāṇa to give an account of the dynasties of the Kali age and the *Mts*, *Vy* and *Bmd* got their accounts from it, though they as well as some other Purāṇas existed before the *Bhv*. Metrical accounts of the dynasties of North India grew up gradually, composed in Ślokas in a literary Prakrit and recited by bards and minstrels. After the introduction of writing about the 7th century B.C., the accounts were composed and written down in or near Magadha in Māgadhī or Pāli. The *Bhv* appropriated the Prakrit metrical accounts and converted the Prakrit Ślokas into Sanskrit in the form of a prophecy uttered by Vyāsa. This reshaping was carried through generally but not yet completely, and revisions of the text with new inclusions were taking place from time to time. The account of the Andhras (Sātavāhanas) originally composed in North India and written in Kharoṣṭhī was incorporated into the text about the middle of the 3rd century A.D. The *Mts* borrowed the accounts from the *Bhv* during the last quarter of the 3rd century. These *Bhv* accounts, which were still in Kharoṣṭhī and cannot now be traced in the extant text of the Purāṇa, were revised during the first quarter of the 4th century and the revised text was borrowed by the *Vy* now represented by a Ms (*e* Vāyu of Pargiter) in the India Office Library. The text was revised again about the beginning of the second quarter of the 4th century and this version was adopted by the *Vy* and soon after by the *Bmd* (which may have copied from the *Vy*) and now constitutes their general versions. The *Vsn* next utilised the accounts about the end of the 4th century and condensed it in Sanskrit prose. About the 8th or 9th century, the *Bgvt* (which in the main condensed the matter in new Ślokas) drew its materials from the *Bmd* and more particularly from the *Vsn*. The *Grd*, whose date is uncertain, utilised the same materials but has a bald list of the kings in new Sanskrit Ślokas. Since those times a quiet process of small emendations in details has been at work in these Purāṇas.

Some of the theories of Pargiter have been criticised. If we believe that the Brāhmī alphabet evolved out of the prehistoric Indus valley script, we should only speak of the growth

of the popularity of writing and not of the introduction of writing about the 7th century B. C. The Andhras (Sātavāhanas) of the Deccan had nothing to do with the north-western region of India where the Kharoṣṭhī script was prevalent; it is, therefore, difficult to believe that the historical accounts of this royal family were originally composed in northern (north-western ?) India and written in Kharoṣṭhī. The definite epochs suggested by Pargiter for the composition, revision or transmission of the particular texts are again no better than tentative. But from a study of the sections on cosmography and geography which are common to several of the Purāṇas, it appears that Pargiter is probably right as regards the chronological sequence of at least some of the Purāṇas with which he deals. As to the suggestion that the original of the historical sections of the Purāṇas was composed in Prakrit, we know that the theory has been contested by Keith,[1] though Winternitz[2] seems to be inclined to agree with Pargiter. It is interesting to note that the geographical sections exhibits Prakrit influence in such forms of names as भारुकच्छ, वेदभ, ऋष्यवन्त, शुक्तिमन्ती, etc. It may be pointed out that the geographical sections, especially the list of *janapadas*, found in the *Bmd*, *Mk*, *Mts*, *Vmn* and *Vy* practically follow the same draft. The original draft seems to have been compiled for *Mts*. The *Vy* text appears to be the earliest copy from that of the *Mts*. The *Mk* probably copied the text from the *Vy* at a slightly later date; but a little independence of the copyist in the arrangement of names in a few cases is noticed in this text. The *Bmd* furnishes us with a still later copy of the *Vy* text. The date of this copy is possibly not far removed from the time of Al-Bīrūnī (c. 1030 A.D.) who is known to have consulted a Ms of the *Vy* in giving a list of peoples after the Purāṇas. The *Krm*, which like some other Purāṇas, copies the smaller draft of the *janapada* list from the *Vsn*, has a fuller list of rivers probably after the *Vy*. The smaller drafts both of the list of peoples and of rivers appear to have been compiled from the bigger drafts in the *Mts* and *Vy* for the first time for the *Vsn*. Like that of the *Bmd*, the *Krm* text does not

1. *JRAS*, 1914, pp. 1021 ff. ; 1915, pp. 328 ff.
2. *Hist. Ind. Lit.*, Vol I, p. 524 n.

7508

seem to be far removed in point of time from the date of Al-Būrinī. The *Vmn* appears, however, to be the latest copy of the modified draft as found in the other texts. But in several cases the compiler of the *Vmn* shows a tendency to arrange the names rather independently, although in many cases he does not go much beyond the originals before him. The new readings introduced by later copyists of the original draft or its modifications appear to have been, in some cases, offered by way of inprovement or correction, and it is sometimes difficult to determine the reading of the original draft. The fact, however, that even the late *Vmn* often leaves the mistakes of the other copies as they are probably points to the absence of any determined and persistent effort on the part of the copyists to deviate from the texts before them. It should be remembered that numerous mistakes had already crept into the *Vy* text as early as c. 1030 A.D. when Al-Bīrūnī consulted a *Vy* Ms. The geographical section of the *Grd* exhibits considerable freedom, though it seems to have utilised the *Mk* section known as the *Kūrma-vibhāga*. The date of the *Grd* section seems to be close to that of the *Vmn*, as both add to the old description of the Kumārīdvīpa as पूर्वे किराता यस्यान्ते पश्चिमे यवनास्तथा, a new line placing the Turuṣkas in the north and the Andhras in the south. As these Turuṣkas and Andhras appear to be no other than the Turkish Musalmans and the Kākatīyas respectively, the *Vmn* and *Grd* sections on geography could not possibly have been compiled much earlier than the 13th cenutry. The *Sv* also contains the same reference.

TEXT

Mk, ch. 57 (ch. 54 in some versions), vv. 34-59; *Vy*, ch. 45, vv. 109-136; cf. Sachau, *Alb. Ind.*, I, pp. 299-300 ; *Bmd*, ch. 49, vv. 44-71 ; *Mts*, ch. 114, vv. 34-56 ; *Vmn*, ch. 13, vv. 36-58.

I

[1]तास्विमे कुरुपाञ्चालाः[2] शाल्वाश्चैव स-जाङ्गलाः[3] ।
शूरसेना भद्रकारा[4] बोधाः सह-पटच्चराः (योधाः सह०,योधेयाः स० ?)[5]॥

1. The following two lines are omitted in Mk. Mbh (VI.9, 39-40), however, has— तत्रेमे कुरुपाञ्चालाः शाल्वा माद्रेय-जाङ्गलाः । शूरसेनाः पुलिन्दाश्च बोधा मालास्तथैव च ॥ मत्स्याः कुशल्याः सौशल्याः कुन्तयः कान्ति-कोशलाः । चेदि-मत्स्य-करूषाश्च भोजाः सिन्धु-पुलिन्दकाः ॥ As to the *janapadas* of the Madhyadeśa, Vmn has rather freely— मत्स्याः (*a*— यस्याः) कुशूद्राः किल कुण्डलाश्च (*a*— कण्ड०) पञ्चालकाश्चैव (*a*—०काश्च) सह कौशिकैश्च । वृकाः शका (*a* — शाका) वर्वर-कौरवाश्च कलिङ्ग-वङ्गाङ्ग जनास्तथैते ॥ मर्मका मध्य-देशीया (*a*— ०देशा वा) आभीराः (*a*—अभीराः) शाठ्यधानकाः ॥

2. Mts—तास्विमे कुरुपाञ्चालाः; Vy, Bmd—तास्त्विमे कुरुपाञ्चालाः । For the Kuru country proper with its capitals at Hāstinapura in the present Meerut District and Indraprastha in the Delhi region, see Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, 1938, pp. 19-20, 113. For the Pāñchālas with their capitals at modern Rāmnagar (ancient Ahicchatra) in the Bareilly District and Kampil (ancient Kāmpilya) in Farrukhābād, see *ibid.*, pp. 114 f.

3. Vy, Bmd, Mts—शाल्वाश्चैव स-जाङ्गलाः; Mbh—शाल्वा माद्रेय-जाङ्गलाः । For the six branches of the Śālva tribe, cf. *Vj*, 1.3.I. 38-39— साल्वास्तु कारकुत्सी (Ac— क्षी)यास्तेषां त्ववयवाः परे । उदुम्बरास्तिलखला महा-(द्र)कारा युगन्धराः । ह्(भु)लिगाः शरदण्डाश्च षट् साल्वावयवा इमे ॥

For the traditional verse referring to the constituting elements of the Śālva or Kārakukṣiya tribe that lived in the Punjab and the adjoining regions of U.P. and Rajputana, quoted by grammarians, cf. *Pre-Aryan and pre-Dravidian in India*, p. 80. Jāṅgala is apparently the same as Kuru-Jāṅgala near the Sarasvatī. See Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, pp. 19 f.

4. Vy, Bmd, Mts.— शूरसेना भद्रकाराः; Mbh—शूरसेनाः पुलिन्दाश्च । The Bhadrakāras are apparently the same as the Madrakāras who were a branch of the Śālva tribe (supra, note 3) and inhabited the north-eastern part of the Punjab or the adjoining regions. The Śūrasenas were a branch of the Yādavas and lived about Mathurā. See Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, pp. 117 f.

5. Vy *acde*, Bmd—बोधाः शतपथेश्वरैः ; Vy *b*—बोधाः सह पथेश्वरैः ; Mts— बाह्याः सहपटच्चराः ; Mbh— बोधा मालास्तथैव च । The Paṭaccaras are

मत्स्याः किराताः कुल्याश्च[1] कुन्तयः काशि-कोशलाः[2] ।
आवन्ताश्च भुलिङ्गाश्च[3] मगधाश्चान्धकैः सह[4] ॥
मध्यदेश्या जनपदाः[5] प्रायशोमी प्रकीर्त्तिताः[6] ॥

known from Grd, I, 55, 11—पञ्चालाः कुरवो मत्स्या यौधेयाः सपटच्चराः । कुन्तयः शूरसेनाश्च मध्यदेशजनाः स्मृताः । For the Yodheya or Yaudheya tribe of Grd, see Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, pp. 457-58. The territories of the Yaudheyas included the Bayana region of Bharatpur and Johiyabar on the Satlaj. The Paṭaccaras are believed to have occupied parts of the Allahabad and Banda Districts.

1. Vy *a*—वत्साः किसल्वाः कुल्याश्च, *b*—वत्साः किसद्याः कुल्याश्च, *c d e*—वत्साः किसष्णाः कुल्याश्च, *c* (v.l.) *e.* (v.l.)— वत्साः किसष्टाः कुल्याश्च, e (v.l.) वत्साः किसज्याः कुल्याश्च; Bmd—वत्साः कुसट्टा कुल्याश्च; Mk—मत्स्याश्वकूटाः कुल्याश्च ; Mts—मत्स्याः किराताः कुल्याश्च । The first name is either Matsya (Jaipur-Alwar region) or Vatsa (Allahabad region). Cf. Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, pp. 111 f. Kirāta=Himalayan mountaineers ; cf. the name of the Kirāntis who once reigned over a large portion of Nepal. The Kulyas were probably the people of the present Kulait region on the upper Rāvī.

2. Vy, Mk, Bmd, Mts—कुन्तलाः काशिकोशलाः ; Mts *c* (v.l.)—कुन्तयः काशिकोशलाः; Mbh—कुन्तयः कान्तिकोशलाः. The reading कुन्तयः is supported by Grd, I, 55, 11, quoted at p. 21 n. 5. The Kuntis were a branch of the Yādava tribe living apparently not far from the Mathurā region. The Kāśis lived about Vārāṇasī (Banaras). This Kośala is Uttara-Kośala with its capital at Ayodhyā (in the Fyzabad Dist.). See Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, pp. 8 ff., 84 ff.

3. Mts—आवन्ताश्च कलिङ्गाश्च; Mk *a c* (v.l.)—अथर्वाश्च कलिङ्गाश्च, *b*—अथर्वाश्चार्कलिङ्गाश्च, *c*—अथवाश्चाकलिङ्गाश्च, *d*—अर्बुदाश्चार्कलिङ्गाश्च ; Bmd—प्रथमाश्च कलिङ्गाश्च ; Vy ae—अर्थपाश्च तिलङ्गाश्च, *cde* (v.l.)—अथ पार्श्वे तिलङ्गाश्च, b—अर्ययाश्वपुःलिङ्गाश्च (sic. अर्थपाश्च भुलिङ्गाश्च). The Bhuliṅgas were a branch of the Śālva tribe ; cf. p. 21 note 3. The Avantas are apparently the same as the Avantis who lived in West Malwa and had their chief city at Ujjain. Cf. Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, pp. 122-23.

4. Mk—मलकाश्च वृकैः सह ; Bmd, Vy *acde*—मगधाश्च वृकैः सह, *b*—मषकाश्च वृकैः सह ; Mts—मूकाश्चैवान्धकैः सह. Magadha=Patna and Gaya Districts of Bihar ; cf. Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.* p. 94 ff. The Andhakas were a branch of the Yādava tribe and possibly lived originally not far from Mathurā. Later they appear to have migrated towards Kathiawar.

5. Mk—मध्यदेश्या जनपदाः ; Vy, Bmd, Mts—मध्यदेशा जनपदाः. Cf. 37, n. 5.

6. Mk, Vy, Bmd—प्रायशोमी प्रकीर्त्तिताः ; Mts— प्रायशः परिकीर्त्तिताः.

[1]सह्यस्य उत्तरार्द्धे तु[2] यत्र गोदावरी नदी[3] ।
पथिव्यामिह कृत्स्नायां[4] स प्रदेशो मनोरमः[5] ॥

II

वाह्लीका वाटधानाश्च[6] आभीराः कालतोयकाः[7] ।
अपरान्ताश्च शू(क्षु?)द्राश्च[8] पह्लवाश्चर्मखण्डिकाः[9] ॥

1. The following lines including those referring to Govardhana are omitted in some of the *Vy* Mss. The verse is quoted in *Km.*

2. Vy *a*-सह्यस्य उत्तरार्द्धे तु, *cde*-सह्यस्य चोत्तरार्द्धे तु, *e* (v.l.)-सह्यस्य चोत्तरार्द्ध तु; Mk *a*-सह्यस्य चोत्तरे यस्तु, *bcd*-सहस्य चोत्तरे यास्तु; Bmd-सह्यस्य उत्तरान्ते तु. Sahya=the Western Ghats excluding the Travancore hills.

3. Mk, Vy, Bmd-यत्र गोदावरी नदी; Mts-तत्र गोदावरी नदी. The Puranic passage further refers to the holy place called Govardhana near Nasik on the Godāvarī river. Cf. p. 51, n. 6.

4. Vy, Bmd-पृथिव्यामिह कृत्स्नायां; Mk, Mts-पृथिव्यामपि कृत्स्नायां.

5. Mk, Vy, Bmd, Mts- सप्रदेशो मनोरमः

6. Mk, Vy *ac*, Bmd, Mts, Vmn-वाह्लीका वाटधानाश्च, Vy *b*-वाह्लीका वाढवानाश्च, *de* (v.l.)-वाह्लीका वाढधानाश्च. Valhika=modern Balkh region in the northern part of Afghanistan. The Vāṭadhānas lived in the Punjab-Rajasthan region and had a settlement at Madhyamikā near Chitor (Mah, II, 29,7). See Motichandra, *Geog. Ec. Stud.*, pp. 27-28, 31-32.

7. Mk, Vy, Bmd, Mts-आभीराः कालतोयकाः; Vmn *a*=अभीराः कालतोयदाः, *b*-अभिराः कालतोयदाः. For the Ābhiras who lived to the north of the Rajputana desert, see Sircar, *Suc. Sāt.* pp. 242 f. We may also think of Abiravān between Herat and Kandahar which may have been the original home of the Ābhīras. In the 3rd century A.D., there was an Ābhīra kingdom in the north-western Deccan. Kālatoyaka=Kalāt in Baluchistan.

8. Mk-अपरान्ताश्च शूद्राश्च, Vy *acde*, Bmd-अपरीताश्च शूद्राश्च; Vy *b* omits शूद्र; Mts *a*-पुरन्ध्राश्चैव शुद्राश्च, *bc*-पुरन्ध्राश्चैव शूद्राश्च, *c* (v.l.)-पराग्धाश्चैव शूद्राश्च; Vmn-अपरान्तास्तथा शूद्राः. The Śudras lived near the Ābhīras; cf. Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 242. Aparānta=Aparīta=Purandhra may be Greek Paraitakene in the lower Helmund valley. As the Śūdras are mentioned below separately (p. 25, n. 2), we may possibly suggest Kṣudra or Kṣudraka (Greek Oxydrakai) living about the Montgomary Dist. See Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

9. Mk *ad*, Vy *be* (v.l.)-पह्लवाश्चर्मखण्डिकाः; Vy *acde*- पह्लवाश्चर्मखण्डकाः; Mk *bc*, Bmd-पल्लवाश्चर्मखण्डिकाः; Mts-पल्लवाश्चात्तखण्डिकाः;

गान्धारा यवनाश्चैव[1] सिन्धु-सौवीर-मद्रकाः[2] ।
शतद्रुजाः कुणिन्दाश्च[3] पारदा हारहूणकाः[4] ॥
रमठा रुद्धकटकाः[5] कैकेया दशमानकाः[6] ।

Vmn—पह्लवाश्च सखेटकाः. Pahlava = the Pahlavis or Persians (Sasanians ?). Carmakhaṇḍika = people of Samarkand.

1. Mk *acd*, Vy, Bmd, Mts, Vmn = गान्धारा यवनाश्चैव; Mk *b*—गान्धारा गबलाश्चैव. Gandhāra = the Rawalpindi and Peshawar Districts. Cf. Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, pp. 124 f. The ancient capitals of the country were Takṣaśilā in the Rawalpindi Dist. and Puṣkalāvatī (Charsadda near Peshawar), and Udabhāṇḍapura (Und near Attock) in the early medieval period. Yavana = Indo-Greek settlements in the north-western part of India and adjoining lands. Cf. Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

2. Mk, Bmd, Mts *abe*—सिन्धुसौवीरमद्रकाः ; Vy *acde*, Mts *c* (v.l.), Vmn—सिन्धुसौवीरमद्रकाः ; Vy *b*—सिन्धुसौवीरमध्रकाः । According to *Alb. Ind.*, I, pp. 259-60, 300, Sauvīra included Multān and Jahrāvār which latter lay about fifty miles below the junction of the Jhelam and the Chenab. Sindhu lay to the west and Sauvīra to the east of the lower Indus. Madra = district round Sialkot (ancient Śākala).

3. Mk—शतद्रुजाः कलिङ्गाश्च ; Vy *acde*—शकद्रुहाः कुलिन्दाश्च ; *e* (v.l.)—शकाः ह्रदाः कुणिन्दाश्च ; Bmd—शका हूणाः कुलिन्दाश्च ; Mts—शका द्रुह्याः पुलिन्दाश्च, *c* (v.l.)—शतद्रव(वः) पुलिन्दाश्च ; Vy *b*—शकाद्रिह्या कलिताश्च. The ancient Kuṇindas are supposed to be represented by the modern Kunets of Kūlū and the Simla region; but they formerly appear to have extended upto the Shaharanpur and Ambala Districts where their coins have been discovered in large numbers. See Smith, *Cat.*, p. 161. Satadruja = people of the Satlaj valley.

4. Bmd—पारदा हारहूणकाः ; Mk—पारदा हारमूषिकाः ; Vy *acde*—परिता हारपूरिकाः ; Mts—पारदा हारमूर्त्तिकाः, *c* (v.l.)—परेता हारमूषिकाः. Omitted in Vy *b*. The reading हारहूण is supported by Mbh, II, 32, 12, while Bs, XIV, 33 suggests हारहूर which is also supported by Km. The Pāradas were the Parthians who lived in the Khorasan region. The Hārahūṇas or Hārahūras were probably a branch of the Huns who subjugated the whole land from Central Asia to Central India about the end of the 5th century A. D. Motichandra locates the Hārahūras in the Herat region (*op. cit.*, p. 66).

5. Mk—माठरा बहुभद्राश्च, Vy *a*—रमठा रद्धकटकाः ; *cde*—रमटा रद्धकटकाः ; Bmd. रमणा रुद्धकटकाः; Mts—रामठाः कण्टकाराश्च ; Vmn—माठरोदकआराश्च. Omitted in Vy *b*. Lévi locates the Ramaṭhas between Ghazni and Wakhan (*J. A.*, 1918, p. 126). The Ruddhakaṭakas may have lived in the gold-producing Rudok area of Tibet.

6. Mk—कैकेया दशमालिकाः ; Bmd—कैकया दशमालिकाः ; Vy *ac*—कैकया दशमाणिकाः ; *de*—कैकया दशमानिकाः; Mts *a*—कैकया दशमानकाः;

क्षत्रियोपनिवेशाश्च[1] तथा शूद्रकुलानि च[2] ॥
[3]काम्बोजा दरदाश्चैव[4] वर्वरा अङ्गलौकिकाः[5] ।
चीनाश्चैव तुषाराश्च[6] बहुला बाह्यतो नराः[7] ॥

b—कैकेया दशनामकाः, *c*—कैकेय्या दशनामकाः, *c* (v.l.)—कैकेय्या दशनामिकाः; Vmn *a*—कैकेया दशमास्तथा, *b*—कैकेया दंशनास्तथा; Vy *e* (v.l.)—केशपा दशमाणिकाः. Omitted in Vy *b*. For the Kekayas, cf. Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, pp. 52 ff. They lived between the Jhelam and the Beas and had their capital at Girivraja (Girjāk or Jalālpur on the Jhelam). The Daśamānakas may have lived in the Dasht valley in Kalāt.

1. Mk. Vy *acde*, Bmd—क्षत्रियोपनिवेशाश्च; Mts—क्षत्रियोपनिवेश्याश्च; Vmn—क्षत्रियाः प्रतिवेश्याश्च. Omitted in Vy *b*. For the Kṣatṛis (Greek Xathroi) living near the confluence of the Chenab and the Indus, see Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 207.

2. Mk, Vy *acde*, Bmd—वैश्यशूद्रकुलानि च; Mts—वैश्याः शूद्रकुलानि च; Vmn—तथा शूद्रकुलानि च. Omitted in Vy *b*. See p. 23, note 8 above.

3. The following two lines are omitted in Mts and partly in Vy *b*.

4. Mk, Vy *acde*, Bmd, Vmn—काम्बोजा दरदाश्चैव. The Kāmbojas probably lived in the land extending from the Rajauri valley in Kashmir to the Hindu Kush. The Daradas lived round Daratpurī in the upper valley of the Kishengaṅgā in northern Kashmir. Some scholars locate the Kāmbojas near Badakhshan beyond the Hindu Kush. See Chapter IV. below.

5. Mk *abc*—वर्वरा हर्षवर्द्धनाः; Vy *acde*—वर्वराः प्रियलौकिकाः; Mk *d*, Bmd—वर्वरा अंगलौकिकाः; Vmn *a*—वर्वराश्चाङ्गलौकिकाः, *b*—वर्वराश्चाङ्गलोकिकाः. Aṅgaloka is also mentioned elsewhere in the Purāṇas; cf. below, p. 60, note 9. Varvara reminds one of Barbaricum, a port on the principal mouth of the Indus in the early centuries of the Christian era. But apparently the same people is also mentioned elsewhere; cf. *loc. cit.*, note 7. Aṅgaloka may be the land of the Agalassoi of the Greeks. But they lived in the land between the Jhelam and the Chenab.

6. Mk *ad*, Bmd, Vy *e* (v.l.)—चीनाश्चैव तुषाराश्च; Vy *acde*—पीनाश्चैव तुषाराश्च; Mk *bc*—चीनाश्चैव तुखाराश्च; Vmn—वेणाश्चैव तुषाराश्च. चीन= the Tibeto-Chinese peoples. तुखार, तुषार—cf. Tukhāristān of the Arabs which included the old Bactria and indicated the mountainous country on both sides of the middle Oxus as far as Badakhshan though the country to the south of the river was usually understood by the name (Wellhausen, *The Arab Kingdom and its Fall*, tr. p. 430). For the Chīnas, see Jarret, *Ain-i-Akbarī*, pp. 118-19; also below, p. 60, n. 6; p. 61, n. 1; Chapter IV.

7. Mk *abc*—बहुला बाह्यतो नराः; Vy *acde*, Mk *d*—पह्लवा बाह्यतोदराः; Bmd—पह्लवाश्च क्षतोदराः; Vmn—बहुधा बाह्यतो दराः; Vy b—मल्लकोदराः (?), *c* (v.l.)—रत्नधाराः क्षतोदराः ।

क्षत्रयोथ भरद्वाजाः[1] प्रस्थलाश्च दसेरकाः[2] ।
लम्पाकास्तल (श्चाव?) गानाश्च[3] चूलिका जागुडैः सह:[4] ॥
[5]औपधा (औरसा?) श्चानिभद्राश्च[6] किरातानाञ्च जातयः[7] ।
तोमरा हंसमार्गाश्च[8] काश्मीरास्तङ्गणास्तथा[9] ॥

1. Mk, Vy *acde*, Bmd—आत्रेयाश्च भरद्वाजा:; Mts *a*—क्षत्रयोथ भरद्वाजा:; *bc*—अत्रयोथ भरद्वाजा; Vmn—आत्रेयाः सभरद्वाजा:; Vy *b*—आत्रेयाश्च भरद्वका:

2. Mk *acd*—पुष्कलाश्च कशेरुका: ; *b*—पुष्कलाश्च कुशेरुका:; Vy *acde* Bmd—प्रस्थलाश्च कसेरुका: ; Mts—प्रस्थला: सदसेरका:, *c* (v.l.)—प्रस्थला: सह-सौभका: ; Vmn, Mk *c* (v.l.)—प्रस्थलाश्च दशेरका:. Both Prasthala and Puṣkalāvataka are mentioned in the list of Bs, 16, 26. Rām, IV.43, 11 locates Prasthala in the north. Puṣkala=people of Puṣklāvatī, modern Prang-Charsadda-Mir Ziyarat region near Peshawar. Daseraka=Maru, i.e. the Marwar region in Rajputana.

3. Mk—लम्पाका: शूलकाराश्च; Vy *acde*, Bmd—लम्पाकास्तनपाश्चैव; Mts *a*—लम्पाकास्तलनागाश्च *bc*—लम्पाकास्तलगानाश्च, *c*(v.l.)—लम्पाकास्त-ङ्गणाश्चैव; Vy *e* (v.l.)—लम्पाकास्तानकाश्चैव, लम्पाकास्तनकाश्चैव, लम्पाका-स्तनसाश्चैव, *b*—लम्पाकास्तालकूनाश्च. Lampāka=modern Laghman in Afghanistan. The Āvagānas or Afghans are mentioned in Bs.

4. Mk—चुलिका जागुडै: सह ; Vy *acde*, Bmd—पौडिका जुहुडै: सह; Vy *b*—सूलिका जगरै: सह, *e*(v.l.)— चूडिका जुहुडै: सह ; Mts—सैनिका: सह जाङ्गलै:; Vmn—चूडिकास्तङ्गणै: सह । Jāguḍa=South Afghanistan with its capital at Ghazni. The Cūlikas were the Sogdians living to the north of the Oxus. See Bagchi in *JDL*, XXI.

5. The following three lines are omitted in Mts and Vy *b*.

6. Mk *a*—औपधाश्चालिभद्राश्च, *bd*—औपधाश्चानिभद्राश्च, *c*—औषधा-श्चानिभद्राश्च; Vy *a* अपसाश्चालिभद्राश्च ; Bmd, Vy *cde*—अपगाश्चालि-भद्राश्च ; Vmn—अलसाश्चालिभद्राश्च. Aurasa=people of Urasā, modern Hazara District. See below, p. 61, note 8.

7. Mk, Vy *acde*, Bmd, Vmn—किरातानाञ्च जातय: । cf. p. 22, n. 1.

8. Mk—तामसा हंसमार्गाश्च; Vy *acde*, Bmd—तोमरा हंसमार्गाश्च; Vmn—तामसा कर्ममार्गाश्च. See p. 36, note 5. Haṁsamārga=Humza in North-West Kashmir.

9. Mk *ac*, Vy *acde*, Bmd—काश्मीरास्तङ्गणास्तथा ; Mk *b*—काश्मीरा-स्तुङ्गणास्तथा ; *d*—काश्मीरास्तुमणास्तथा ; Vmn—सुपार्श्वा गणकास्तथा. Kāśmīra=people of the upper Vitastā valley. The land of the Taṅgaṇa or Ṭaṅgaṇa people probably had its headquarters at Ṭaṅgaṇāpura near Joshimath in the Garhwal District, U.P. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 286).

कुलूताश्चाहु(बाह्री?)काश्चैव[1] ऊर्णा(हूणा?) दार्वास्तथैव च[2] ।
एते देशा उदीच्यास्तु[3] प्राच्यान् देशान् निबोधत[4] ॥

III

अङ्गा वङ्गा मुद्गरका[5] अन्तर्गिरिवहिर्गिरी[6] ।

1. Mk—शूलिका: कुहुकाश्चैव; Vy *a*, Bmd—चूलिकाश्चाहुकाश्चैव; Vy *cde*—चूलिकाश्चाहुकाश्चैव; Vmn *a*—कुलूतो कुहिकाश्चूर्णा:, *b*—कुलूता: कुहिकाश्चूर्णा; Vy *e* (v.l.)—चूलिका बाहुकाश्चैव. For the Kulūtas of Kulū in the Kangra Dist., see Allan, *Cat. C.A.I.*, p. *c*; for the Bāhikas of the Punjab, see Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, I, p. 276 n.

2. Mk *ac*—जर्णा दर्वास्तथैव च, *d*—ऊर्णा दार्वास्तथैव च; Bmd, Mk *b*—ऊर्णा दर्वास्तथैव च; Vmn—तूर्णपादा: सकुक्कुटा: ; Vy *acde*—पूर्णदर्वास्तथैव च. The reading suggested by another passage (p.36, note 8) is हूणा दार्वा॰. The *Harṣacarita* places the Hūṇas in the Uttarāpatha apparently somewhere about the Western Panjab. Dārva = people of Dārvābhisāra which roughly comprised the Punch and Naoshera regions between the Jhelam and the Chenab.

3. Mk *abc*—एते देशा ह्युदीच्यास्तु; *d*—एते दशा ह्युदीच्यास्तु; Vy *acde*, Bmd—एते देशाह्युदीच्याश्च; Mts—एते देशा उदीच्यास्तु. Vmn has rather freely—माण्डव्या: पानवीयाश्च उत्तरापथवासिन: । Cf. p. 37, n. 5.

4. Vy *acde*, Bmd, Mts—प्राच्यान् देशान् निबोधत; Mk—प्राच्यान् देशान् निबोध मे । Cf. p. 37, n. 6.

5. Mk *abc*— अध्रारका मुदकरा:, *d*—अभ्रा वका मुद्गरका:, *c* (v.l.)—अन्ध्रवाश्च मुद्गरका: ; Vy *acde*, Bmd—अन्ध्रवाका: सुजरका:; Vy *b*—अन्ध्रवाका मुद्रकरका:; Mts *ab*—अङ्गा वङ्गा मद्गुरका:, *c*—अङ्गा वङ्गा भद्गुरका:, v.l.—अङ्गा वङ्गा भद्रवका:, अङ्गा वङ्गा मद्गुरुका:, Vmn—अङ्गा वङ्गा मद्गुरवा:. Aṅga and Vaṅga appear to have been separated from Āṅgeya and Vāṅgeya through confusion (cf. below). Mudgaraka (modern Monghyr) is the same as Mudgara of Km and Mudgagiri of inscriptions. Aṅga = East Bihar and Vaṅga = South-East Bengal. For the Aṅga capital Campā near Lakhisarai in the Monghyr Dist., see *JBRS*, Vol. XLI, p. 150. For the Vaṅga capital near the mouth fo the Bhāgirathī, see below.

6. Mk *abc*—अन्तर्गिर्या बहिर्गिरा:, *c* (v.l.)—अन्तर्गिरबहिर्गिरा:; Vy *acde*, Bmd, Mk *d*—अन्तर्गिरिबहिर्गिरा:; Mts—अन्तर्गिरिबहिर्गिरी; Vmn—स्वन्तर्गिरिबहिर्गिरा:; Vy *b*—प्रान्त्रगिरबहिर्गिरा:. Antargiri and Bahirgiri may be located towards the north of Prāgjyotiṣa (Assam) on the strength of Mbh, II, 27, 1-3.

[1]तथा प्रवङ्ग-वाङ्गेया[2] मलदा मल्लवर्त्तकाः[3] ॥
[4]ब्रह्मोत्तरा प्र(श्री?)विजया[5] भार्गवाङ्गेय-मल्लकाः[6] ।
प्राग्ज्योतिषाश्च पौण्ड्राश्च[7] विदेहास्ताम्रलिप्तकाः[8] ॥

1. The line is omittted in Mts *ab*.

2. Mk *ac*—यथा प्रवङ्गा रङ्गेयाः, *b*—तथा प्रवङ्गा रङ्गेयाः; *c* (v.l.) तथा सवङ्गा वङ्गेयाः, *d*—तथा प्लवङ्गा रंगेयाः; Vy *acde*—तथा प्रवंगवंगेयाः, *b*—तथा प्रथंगवंगेयाः; Bmd—तथा प्रवंगा वङ्गाश्च; Vmn—तथा प्रवंगवाङ्गेयाः; Mts *c*—ततः प्लवंगमातङ्गाः. The correct reading of the names and their identification are doubtful.

3. Mk *abc*—मानदा मानवर्त्तिकाः, *c* (v.l.)—मालदा मालवर्त्तिकाः, *d*—मालदा मलवर्त्तिकाः; Vy *acde*—मालदा मालवर्त्तिनः, *e* (v.l.)—मलदा मलवर्त्तिनः, मालवा मलवर्त्तिनः, *b*—मालवा मालवर्त्तिकाः; Mts *c*—यमका मल्लवर्णकाः; Bmd—मालदा मालवर्णिकाः; Vmn—मांसादा वलदन्तिकाः. The Maladas and Mallavartakas are also known from *Km*. Cf. p. 33, note 8 below.

4. This line is omitted in Vy *b*.

5. Mk *acd*—ब्राह्मोत्तराः प्रविजयाः, Vy *acde*, Bmd, Vmn *a*, Mk *b*—ब्रह्मोत्तराः प्रविजयाः; Vmn *b*—ब्रह्मोत्तराः प्राविजयाः, Mts *abc*—सुह्मोत्तराः प्रविजयाः, *c* (v.l.)—सह्मोत्तराः प्रविजयाः. The reading सुह्मोत्तर is not supported by Km which reads सुह्म (the ancient name of Rāḍha in South West Bengal) and ब्रह्म or ब्रह्मोत्तर side by side. Brahmottara may be associated with the name of Burma which is derived from the Mrama, one of the three tribes that migrated into Burma and ultimately lent their name as a national designaton to all Burmese. Cf. below, p. 64 note 1. But for a Barmhattar in Sarkar Satgaon, see Jarret, *op. cit.*, p. 141. Śrīvijaya (modern Palembang in Sumatra) was the capital of the Śailendra emperors in the early medieval period.

6. Mk *abc*—भार्गवा ङ्गेयमल्लकाः, *d*—भार्गवा गेयमल्लकाः; Vy *acde*, Bmd—भार्गवा गेयमर्थकाः; Mts *abc*—मार्गवा गेयमालवाः; *c* (v.l.)—भार्गवांगेयमालवाः; भार्गवाश्चार्यगालवाः, मार्गवा ये च मालवाः; Vmn *a*—भार्गवांगेयमर्यकाः, *b*—भार्गवांगेयमर्षकाः. The correct reading of the names and their location are doubtfu l.

7. Mk—प्राग्ज्योतिषाश्च मद्राश्च; Vy—प्राग्ज्योतिषाश्च मुण्डाश्च; Bmd—प्रागुज्योतिषाश्च पौण्ड्राश्च; Mts—प्रागुज्योतिषाश्च पुण्ड्राश्च; Vmn—प्राग्ज्योतिषाः पुण्ड्राश्च. Prāgjyotisa=modern Gauhati area of Assam and the adjoining region. Pauṇḍra=people of North Bengal with their city called पुण्ड्रनगर (later पुण्ड्रवर्द्धन), modern Mahāsthān in the Bogra District.

8. Mk, Vy *acde*, Bmd, Mts, Vmn—विदेहास्ताम्रलिप्तकाः; Vy *b*—आविकास्ताम्रलिप्तिकाः. Videha=a people living in North Bihar and the adjoining region with their capital at Mithilā, modern Janakpur in the

मल्ला मगध-गोनर्दाः[1] प्राच्या जनपदाः स्मृताः[2] ॥

IV

[3]अथापरे जनपदा[4] दक्षिणापथवासिनः[5] ।
पाण्ड्याश्च केरलाश्चैव[6] चोलाः कुल्यास्तथैव च[7] ॥
सेतुका मूषिकाश्चैव[8] कुमारा वनवासकाः[9] ।

Nepalese Tarai. Tāmraliptaka= people of the district round modern Tamluk in South-West Bengal.

1. Mk *abc*—मल्ला मगधगोमन्ताः; *d*—मल्ला मगधगोमेदाः; Vy—माला मगधगोविन्दाः; Bmd—माला मगधगोनन्दाः ; Mts *a*—शाल्वमगधगोनर्द्दाः, *bc*—शाल्वमागधगोनर्द्दाः, Vmn—माला मगधमानन्दाः. For the Mallas of the district round Kuśīnagara (Kasia in the Gorakhpur District), see Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, pp. 106 f. Note that Magadha was sometimes located in Madhyadeśa (p.22, note 4) and sometimes in Prācya. *Vj* which locates the Andhras and Śālvas (cf. p. 27, note 5,) in East India apparently relied on these erroneous texts of the Purāṇas. For Gonarda which belonged to East India only theoretically, see *JAHRS*, Vol. IX, part i, p. 1 ff., and below.

2. Mk, Vy *a*, Bmd, Mts—प्राच्या जनपदाः स्मृताः; Vmn—प्राच्या जनपदास्त्विमे; Vy *cde*—प्राच्यां जनपदाः स्मृताः ।

3. The following line is omitted in Vmn.

4. Mk, Vy, Bmd—अथापरे जनपदाः; Mts—तेषां परे जनपदाः

5. Mk, Vy, Bmd, Mts—दक्षिणापथवासिनः. Cf. p. 37, n. 10.

6. Mk *ac*, Vmn—पुण्ड्राश्च केरलाश्चैव; Mk *b*—पुण्ड्राश्च केवलाश्चैव; Vy, Bmd, Mts, Mk *d*—पाण्ड्याश्च केरलाश्चैव. The Pāṇḍyas and Keralas lived about the Madurai-Ramanathapuram-Tirunelveli region and the Malayalam-speaking area respectively.

7. Mk *ac*—गोलाङ्गूलास्तथैव च, *b*—गोलाङ्गूलास्तथैव च, *d*—चोलाः कुल्यास्तथैव च; Vy, Bmd—चौल्याः कुल्यास्तथैव च; Mts—चोलाः कुल्यास्तथैव च; Vmn—चौडाकुल्याश्च राक्षस. For the reading गोलाङ्गूल which seems to be a later emendation, see *Bs*, 16, 3. The Colas lived about the Tanjavur and Tiruchirappalli Districts of Madras State.

8. Mk-शैलषा मूषिकाश्चैव; Vy, Bmd—सेतुका मूषिकाश्चैव; Mts—सेतुकाः सूतिकाश्चैव; Vmn—जानुका मूषिकादाश्च. Setuka=people of Setubandha-Rāmeśvara. Mūṣika=probably the people living on the banks of the Musi now running by the town of Hyderabad (Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 80). Another river of this name runs through the Nellore and Guntur Districts.

9. Mk *abc*—कुसुमा नाम वासकाः, *d*—कुमारा वनवासकाः ; Vy *acde*—कुमना वनवासिकाः; Bmd—कुनासा वानवासकाः; Mts—कुपथा वाजिवासिकाः,

महाराष्ट्रा माहिषकाः[1] कलिङ्गाश्चैव सर्व्वशः[2] ॥
कावेराः सह चैषीका[3] आटव्याः शवराश्च ये[4] ॥
पुलिन्दा विन्ध्यमूलीका(या)[5] विदर्भा दण्डकैः सह[6] ॥
[7]पौरिका मौलिका(मौलका?)श्चैव[8] अश्मका भोगवर्द्धनाः[9] ।

c (v.l.)—कुपथा वाजिकाः शकाः, कुपथा वाजिकाशिकाः ; Vmn—कुमारादा महाशकाः; Vy *b*—रुमना वनवासिकाः. The Vanavāsakas were the inhabitants of modern Banavasi in the North Kanara District. Kumāra=people of Cape Comorin called Kumārīdvīpa.

1. Mk. Vy, Bmd, Vmn *a*—महाराष्ट्रा माहिषकाः ; Mts *a*—नवराष्ट्रा माहिषकाः; *bc*—नवराष्ट्रा माहिषिकाः; Mk *d*, Vmn *b*—महाराष्ट्रा माहिषिकाः. Mahārāṣṭra=modern Marāṭhā country. Māhiṣaka=people of the ancient Mahiṣaviṣaya in Mysore or of Māhiṣmatī on the Narmadā.

2. Mk, Vy, Bmd, Mts, Vmn—कलिङ्गाश्चैव सर्व्वशः; Mts *c* (v.l.)—कपिलाश्चैव सर्व्वशः. The Kalinga country originally comprised the present Puri and Ganjam Districts of Orissa and the adjoining regions.

3. Mk—आभीराः सहवैशिक्याः; Vy *abe* (v.l.), Bmd—आभीराः सहचैषीकाः; Vy *cde*—अभीराः सहचैषीकाः; Mts—कारूषाश्च सहैषीकाः; *c* (v.l.) कावेराश्च सहोषीकैः; Vmn—आभीराः सहवैसक्याः. Kāvera=people living on the Kāverī.

4. Mk *abc*—आढक्याः शवराश्च ये; Mk *d*, Vy *b* —आटव्याः शवराश्च ये; Vy *acde*. Bmd—आटव्याश्च वराश्च ये; Mts—आटव्याः शबरास्तथा, Vmn—आरण्याः शबराश्च ये. Śavara foresters=the Saoras of Ganjam and Visakhapatnam.

5. Mk *abc*—पुलिन्दा विन्ध्यमौलेयाः, *d*—पुलिन्दा विन्ध्यमालेयाः; Vy *ace*, Bmd—पुलिन्दा विन्ध्यमूलीकाः; Vy *ad*—पुलिन्द्रा विन्ध्यमूलीकाः; Mts—पुलिन्दा विन्ध्यपुषिकाः; Vmn—पुलिन्दा विन्ध्यशैलेयाः. The reference is to the Pulindas of the Vindhyan region.

6. Mk, Vy *bcde*, Mts *be*, Vmn *b*—वैदर्भा दण्डकैः सह; Vy *a*, Bmd, Mts *a*—विदर्भा दण्डकैः सह; Vmn *a*—वेदभो दण्डकैः सह. The Prakritism in the form वेदभो is interesting to note. Vidarbha=modern Berar and the adjoining regions. Daṇḍaka is the old name of parts of the Marāṭhā country including especially the Nasik District.

7. The following lines together with the first line of the next Section are omitted in Mts.

8. Mk— पौरिका मौलिकाश्चैव; Vy *a*—पौनिका मौलिकाश्चैव, *cde*—पानिका मौनिकाश्चैव, *b* recognises मूलिक only ; Bmd—शौलिका मौलिकाश्चैव Paurika=people of Purī in the Konkan. Maulika=people of Mūlaka, the district round Paithan on the Godavari in the Aurangabad District, Bombay.

9. Mk, Vy *ab*, Bmd, Vmn *b*—अश्मका भोगवर्द्धनाः; Vy *cde*—अस्मका

नै(ऋ?)षिकाः कुन्तला अन्ध्रा[1] उद्भिदा नलकालिकाः(॰लूपाः?)[2] ।
दाक्षिणात्याश्च वै देशा[3] अपरान्तान् निबोधत[4] ॥

V

[5]शूर्पारकाः कोलवना[6] दुर्गास्तालीकटैः सह[7] ।

भोगवर्द्धनाः; Vmn *a*—अलका भोगवर्द्धनाः. Aśmaka was contiguous to Mūlaka and had its capital at Paudanya, identified by Raychaudhuri with Bodhan in the Nizamabad District of Andhra Pradesh. Bhogavardhana reminds us of the Bhokardan Taluk of the Aurangabad District, Bombay.

1. Mk *ac*—नैषिकाः कुन्तला अन्ध्राः, *b*—नैषिकाः कुन्तला अन्धाः *d*—नैषिकाः कुन्तला आन्ध्राः; Vy *ace*—नैणिकाः कुन्तला अन्ध्राः, *b*—नैतिका कुन्तला अन्ध्राः; *d*—नैर्णिकाः कुन्तला आन्ध्राः; Bmd—मैन्दिकाः कुन्तला अन्ध्राः; Vmn—नैमिकाः कुन्दला आन्ध्राः. Kuntala=people of the region around the North Kanara District. The Andhra people lived in Andhrāpatha about the mouths of the Krishna and the Godavari. Originally they appear to have spread over large parts of the Central and Northern Deccan. For the Ṛṣikas on the Krishna, see Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, 1, p. 198 n.

2. Mk—उद्भिदा वनदारकाः, Vy *acde*, Bmd— उद्भिदा नलकालिकाः, *b*—उद्भिरा नलकालिकाः; Vmn *a*—उच्छिदा नलकारकाः, *b*—उलिदा नलकारकाः । नलकालकाः=नलकालुपाः ?=the Nalas and Ālupas ? उद्भिद=आभीर ? The Ābhīras ruled in the northern part of Mahārāṣṭra and the Koṅkaṇ.

3. Mk—दाक्षिणात्यास्त्वमी देशाः; Vy, Bmd—दाक्षिणात्याश्च वै देशाः. Vmn has rather freely—दाक्षिणात्या जनपदास्त्विमे शालकटांकट (*b*—°कटकट) Al-Bīrūnī wrongly recognises दाक्षिणात्य and वैदिश (sic. वै देशाः) as two *janapadas* of the South and refers to the following countries of the West as those belonging to the South.

4. Mk *abc*—अपरान्तान् निबोध मे; *d*—अपरांस्तान् निबोध मे; Vy, Bmd—अपरांस्तान् निबोधत । Cf. p. 37, n. 10.

5. The following line is omitted in Mts.

6. Mk—सूर्यारकाः कालिबलाः ; Vy *acd*—शूर्पाकाराः कोलवनाः, *e*—सूर्पाकाराः कालवनाः ; Bmd, Vy *b*—शूर्पारकाः कोलवना; Vmn—शूर्पारका वारिधानाः Śūrpāraka=Sopara not far from Bombay. Kolavana=Kolāpura (Kolhapur), or Koḍagu (Coorg).

7. Mk *abc*—दुर्गाश्चानीकटैः सह, *d*—दुर्गाश्चामीकटैः सह; Vy *acde*—दुर्गाः कालीतकैः सह, *b*—दुर्गास्तिल्लीतकैः सह ; Bmd—दुर्गाः कालीकटैः सह ; Vmn—दुर्गास्तालीकटैः सह. The reading तालीकट is supported by *Bs*, XIV, 11 and Mbh, II, 31, 65 (where तालाकट is a mistake for तालीकट). Tālikaṭa=Taḷakāḍ,

पुलेयाश्च सुरा(मुर?)लाश्च[1] रूपसास्तामसैः सह[2] ॥
[3]तथा तुरमिनश्चैव (तुम्बवनाश्चैव ?)[4] सर्वे चैव कारस्कराः[5] ।
नासिक्याद्याश्च ये चान्ये[6] येचैवोत्तरनर्मदाः[7] ॥

the Western Gaṅga capital which was really in the south. Durga=people of the valley of the Durgā, a tributary of the Ṣābarmatī.

1. Mk—पुलिन्दाश्च सुमीनाश्च ; Vy *acde*, Bmd—पुलेयाश्च सुरालाश्च ; Vy *b*—पुलेयाश्च करालाश्च (?) ; Mts—कुलीयाश्च सिरालाश्च ; Vmn—पुलीयाश्चासिनीलाश्च. For a river called मुरला in which the अपरान्त elephants sported, see *Sel. Ins.*, p. 453n. The Murala people is known to have come into contact with Pratihāra Mahīpāla I according to Rājaśekhara's *Bālabhārata* or *Pracaṇḍapāṇḍava* (N. S. P. ed., I. 7) and with Kalacuri Karṇa according to the Bheraghat inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 11). Paramāra Sindhurāja (c.995-1010 A.D.) is represented in the *Navasāhasāṅkacarita* (X, 14-20) as having defeated the Muralas. The reading of the other names and their location are uncertain.

2. Mk—रूपपाः स्वापदैः सह ; Vy *acde*, Bmd—रूपसास्तापसैः सह ; Vmn—तापसास्तामसास्तथा ; Vy *b*—रूपकास्तामसैः सह. The reading of the names and their location are uncertain.

3. Vmn has for the following two lines—कारस्करास्तु भमिनो नासिकान्ताः सुनर्मदाः

4. Mk—तथा कुरुमिनश्चैव ; Vy *acde*, Bmd—तथा तु रसिताश्चैव ; Mts—तथा तैत्तिरिकाश्चैव ; Vy *b*—तथा तरूपणाश्चैव, *e* (v. l.)—तथा तु रमिनश्चैव Tumbavana=Tumain in the Guna Dist. of M. P.

5. Mk—सर्वे चैव कठाक्षराः ; Vy *b*, Mts, Mk *c* (v.l.)—सर्वे कारस्करास्तथा ; Vy *acde*—सर्वे चैव परक्षराः, e (v. l.)—सर्वे चैव परस्कराः ; Bmd—सर्वे चैवापराक्षराः ; cf. Vmn—कारस्करास्तु भमिनः. Mk *d* has, after this, the following additional lines—कारस्करा लोहजंघा वाजेया राजभद्रकाः । तोसलाः कोसलाश्चैव त्रैपुरा वैदिशस्तथा ॥ तुषारास्तम्बुराश्चैव सर्वे चैव करस्कराः ॥ The second of the three lines is taken out of the following Section. The Kāraskaras are known from *Baudh. Dh. S.*, I, 2, 14—आरट्टान् कारस्करान् पुण्ड्रान् सौवीरान् बंगकलिङ्गान् प्राणूनानिति च गत्वा पुनस्तोमेन यजेत सर्वपृष्ठया वा ॥ Dey's *Geog. Dict.* identifies Kāraskara with Karkal near Mangalore. But it is doubtful.

6. Mk—नासिक्यावाश्च ये चान्ये ; Vy, Bmd—नासिक्याद्याश्च ये चान्ये ; Vy *e* (v. l.)—नासिकाद्याश्च ये चान्ये, नासिकाद्याश्च ये चान्ये ; Mts *a*—वासिकाश्चैव ये चान्ये, *bc*—वासिक्याश्चैव ये चान्ये. Nāsikya=people of Nasik in Bombay State.

7. Mk, Vy *b*—ये चैवोत्तरनर्मदाः ; Bmd, Mts, Vy *cde* (v. l.)—ये चैवान्तरनर्मदाः ; Vy *ae*—ये वै चान्तरनर्मदाः. Uttara-Narmada=people living on the northern bank of the Narmadā.

भारु(भृगु)कच्छाः स-माहेयाः[1] सह सारस्वतैरपि[2] ।
कच्छीयाश्च सुराष्ट्राश्च[3] आनर्त्ताश्चार्बुदैः सह[4] ॥
इत्येते अपरान्ताश्च[5] शृणुध्वं विन्ध्यवासिनः[6] ॥

VI

[7]मलदाश्च कारूषाश्च[8] मेकलाश्चोत्कलैः सह[9] ।

1. Mk—भीरुकच्छाः समाहेयाः ; Vy *acd*—भानुकच्छाः समाहेयाः ; Bmd Mts,Vy *e* (v. l.)—भारुकच्छाः समाहेयाः ; Vmn—दारुकच्छाः सुमाहेयाः ; Vy *be*—भानुकच्छ्राः समाहेयाः. The Prakritism in the form भारुकच्छ (Pāli भरुकच्छ) for the Sanskritic भृगुकच्छ is interesting to note. Bhṛgukaccha=Broach. Māheya=people of the Mahi valley. Both the tracts are in Gujarat.

2. Mk, Vmn, Vy *b*—सह सारस्वतैरपि ; Mts—सह सारस्वतैस्तथा, Vy *acde*, Bmd—सहसा शाश्वतैरपि. Sārasvata=people of the Sarasvatī (Sarsuti) valley in the Eastern Punjab or in Gujarat (cf. Jarrett, *An-i-Akabarī*, p. 229).

3. Mk—काश्मीराश्च सुराष्ट्राश्च ; Vy, Bmd—कच्छीयाश्च सुराष्ट्राश्च ; Mts *a*—कच्छीकाश्चैव सौराष्ट्राः, *bc*—काच्छीकाश्चैव सौराष्ट्राः ; Vmn—वात्सीयाश्च सुराष्ट्राश्च. Kacchīya=people of Kutch. Surāṣṭra=South Kathiawar.

4. Mk *acd*, Vmn—आवन्त्याश्चार्बुदैः सह, Mk *b*—अवन्त्याश्चार्बुदैः सह; Vy *acde* (v.l.)—अनर्त्ताश्चार्बुदैः सह ; Bmd, Vy *e*—आनर्त्ताश्चार्बुदैः सह; Mts—आनर्त्ता अर्बुदैः सहः ; Vy *b*—अनर्त्ता हुद्वुदैः (sic) सह. Ānarta=district round Dvārakā. Arbuda=Mount Abu in Rajasthan.

5. Mk, Vy *e* (v.l.)—इत्येते ह्यपरान्ताश्च ; Vy *acde*, Bmd—इत्येते सम्परीताश्च; Mts—इत्येते अपरान्तास्तु. Vmn has rather freely—इत्येते पश्चिमामाशां स्थिता जानपदा जनाः.

6. Mk *acd*—शृणु विन्ध्यनिवासिनः, *b*—शृणु विन्धनिवासिनः ; Vy *acde*, Bmd—शृणुध्वं विन्ध्यवासिनः; Mts—शृणु ये विन्ध्यवासिनः.

7. Vy *b* omits several lines and makes the *janapadas* mentioned in the following two Sections as those belonging to the West. See p. 31, note 3.

8. Mk *a*—सरजाश्च करुषाश्च, *bcd*—सरजाश्च करूषाश्च; Vy *acde*, Bmd,Mts—मालवाश्च करूषाश्च ; Vmn—कारूषाश्चैकलव्याश्च; Vy *b*—मलदाश्च करूषाश्च. See p. 28, note 3. The Mālavas (Malloi of the Greeks) lived on the lower Irāvatī (Rāvī) in the Punjab in the fourth century B.C. Later they are found settled in Rajputana and ultimately they gave their name to modern Malwa in Central India. Kārūṣa, which is also called Bṛhadgṛha, is the same as the present Shahabad District of Bihar. The Maladas probably lived to the west of the Kārūṣas and to the east of Prayāga (Allahabad). Lama Tāranātha who locates a Mālava country near Prayāga seems to have confused the Maladas with the Mālavas of Western India on the strength of erroneous Purānic passages quoted in the present note. cf. Bhandarkar's List, No. 1068.

9. Mk—केरलाश्चोत्कलैः सह ; Vy *ae*—रोकलाश्चोत्कलैः सह; Bmd,

[1]उत्तमर्णा(का ?) दशार्णाश्च[2] भोजाः किष्किन्धकैः सह[3] ॥

तोशलाः कोशलाश्चैव[4] त्रैपुरा वैदिशास्तथा[5] ।

Mts, Vmn, Vy *bcd*—मेकलाश्चोत्कलैः सह. The name Mekala is still preserved in that of the present Maikal range which is the connecting link between the Vindhyas and the Satpuras and stretches from the Khairagarh area in M. P. to the Rewah region (Raychaudhuri, *Stud. Ind. Ant.*, p. 134). The Mekalas lived near the Amarkantak hills. Utkala was the western fringe of the Midnapur District and the adjoining parts of Orissa.

1. The following line is wrongly placed in Section X in Mk *d*.

2. Mk, Bmd. Vmn, Vy *d*—उत्तमर्णा दशार्णाश्च ; Vy *ace*—उत्तमार्णा दशार्णाश्च, *b*—उत्तमर्णा बशार्णाश्च ; Mts—औण्ड्रा माषा दशार्णाश्च. Daśārṇa formed parts of modern East Malwa (cf. the river of the same name at p.47, n.4) and the adjoining regions. It was also known as Ākara and had its capital at Vidiśā. The Uttamakas may be the Uttamabhadras of the Pushkar region.

3. Mk— भोज्याः किष्किन्धकैः सह ; Vy, Bmd, Mts—भोजाः किष्किन्धकैः सह ; Vmn —गोप्ता किकरवैः सह. The Bhojas originally lived in Berar but later founded a kingdom in the Goa region. The Kiṣkindhakas may be the people of Kekind in Jodhpur (Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 199. 208, 1009) or of the Ramayanic Kiṣkindhyā identified with the Raichur-Bellary area of Mysore and the adjoining regions. In any case, *Vindhya* is used in a wide sense.

4. Mk, Vmn *b*—तोशलाः कोशलाश्चैव ; Vy *acde*—तोसला कोसलाश्चैव ; Bmd—तोसलाः कौशलाश्चैव ; Vmn *a*—तोशला शोकलाश्चैव ; Mts *ac*—स्तोशला कोसलाश्चैव, *b*—स्तोशला कौसलाश्चैव ; Vy *b*—recognises कोसल only. Both the names could be spelt either with the dental or with the palatal sibilant. Tośala was no doubt the district round the city of Tośalī (modern Dhauli, near Bhubaneswar in the Puri District, Orissa). In the early medieval period, the Tośala *janapada* is known to have been divided into Uttara-Tośala and Dakṣiṇa-Tośala. Kośala here is no doubt Dakṣiṇa-Kośala, identified with the modern Raipur-Bilaspur-Sambalpur region of M. P. and Orissa. See Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, pp. 252, 452.

5. Mk *a*—तैपुरा वैदिशस्तथा, *bcd*—त्रैपुरा वैदिशस्तथा ; Vy—त्रपुरा वैदिकास्तथा ; Bmd, Mts—त्रैपुरा वैदिशास्तथा ; Vmn—त्रैपुराः खेल्लिशास्तथा. The Traipuras were the people of Tripura or Tripurī, modern Tewar in the Jabalpur District. The Vaidiśas were the people of Vidiśā, modern Besnagar near Bhilsa in M. P.

तुमुरास्तुम्बुराश्चैव (तुम्वानास्तुम्बवनाश्च?)[1] पटवो निषधैः सह[2] ॥

[3]अनूपास्तुण्डिकेराश्च[4] वीतिहोत्रा अवन्तयः[5] ।

1. Mk *abc*—तुम्बुरास्तुम्बुलाश्चैव, *d*—तुम्बरास्तुम्बुलाश्चैव; Vy *acde*, Bmd—तुमुरास्तुम्बुराश्चैव; Mts *a*—तुमुरास्तम्बराश्चैव, *bc*—तुमुवास्तुम्बराश्चैव; Vmn—तुरगास्तुम्बराश्चैव; Vy *b*—थर्पुरास्तुम्बुराश्चैव. One of the names appears to be a mistake for तुम्बवन, modern Tumain in the Guna Dist., M. P. The other locality may be Tummāna (=Tumān), 45 miles north of Ratanpur in the Bilaspur Dist., M. P.

2. Mk *a*—पटवो निषधैः सह, *bc*—पटवो नैषधैः सह, *d*—पटवी नैषधैः सह; Vy *acde*, Bmd—षट्सुरा निषधैः सह; Vy *e* (v. l.)—षट्सुराः नैषधैः सह; Mts *ab*—पद्गमा निषधैः सह, *c*—पद्गमा नैषधैः सह; Vmn *a*—वहेला निषधैः सह, *b*—वहेला नैषधैः सह; Vy *b*—षत्तुमानाः पधैः सह. The Niṣadhas are associated with the Pāriyātra. They probably lived about Nalapura, modern Narwar in the Shivapuri Dist., M. P. The other people's name and location are uncertain.

3. The following four lines are omitted in Vy *b*.

4. Mk *abcd*— अन्नजास्तुष्टिकाराश्च, *c* (v.l.)— अनूपास्तुण्डिकेशाश्च; Vy *acde*, Bmd, Vmn—अनूपास्तुण्डिकेराश्च; Vy *e* (v.l.)—अणुपास्तुण्डिकेराश्च; Mts—अरूपाः शौण्डिकेराश्च. Omitted in Vy *b*. Anūpa was on the Narmadā with the city of Māhiṣmati (modern Māndhātā in the Nimār District, M. P.) as its capital. The Haihaya king Arjuna, son of Kṛtavīrya, ruled at Māhiṣmatī. Like the Bhojas, Vītihotras and Avantis mentioned in the Section, the Tuṇḍikeras were a branch of the Haihayas. According to the Purāṇas (Mts, 43, 48-49; Vy, 94, 51-52; Bmh, 13, 203-04; Pdm, Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa, 12, 35-36; Hv, I, 33, 51-52), the Haihayas were subdivided into five clans, viz., Vītihotra (wrongly called वीरहोत्र in some texts), Bhoja, Avanti, Tuṇḍikera (called कुण्डिकेर, तौण्डिकेर and तुण्डकेर in some texts) and तालजंघ. Pargiter (*AIHT*, p. 98, etc.) refers to the name of the Haihaya clan शार्यात read in some texts as सुरताः, सञ्जाताः, असंख्याताः, सुजाताः, etc. The Haihayas were themselves a branch of the Yādavas. See, e. g., Vsn, IV, Ch. II, Sections i ff.

5. Vy *acde*, Bmd— वीतिहोत्रा ह्यवन्तय; Mk—वीरहोत्रा ह्यवन्तयः; Mts—वीतिहोत्रा अवन्तयः; Vmn—वीतिहोत्रास्त्ववन्तयः. Omitted in Vy *b*. The Avanti people lived in West Malwa and the Vītihotras probably on the Narmadā to the south of the Avantis.

एते जनपदाः सर्वे[1] विन्ध्यपृष्ठनिवासिनः[2] ॥

VII

अतो देशान् प्रवक्ष्यामि[3] पर्वताश्रयिणश्च ये[4] ।
निराहारा हंसमार्गाः[5] कुरवस्तङ्गणाः खसाः[6] ॥
कर्णप्रावरणाश्चैव[7] हूणा दार्वाः स-हूहुकाः[8] ।

1. Mk, Vy, Bmd—एते जनपदाः सर्वे; Mts—एते जनपदाः ख्याताः. Vmn has rather freely—सुकेशा विन्ध्यमूलस्थास्त्विमे जनपदा स्थि(*b*—स्मृ)ताः

2. Mk, Vy, Bmd, Mts—विन्ध्यपृष्ठनिवासिनः

3. Mk, Vy *acde*, Bmd, Mts—अतो देशान् प्रवक्ष्यामि; Vmn—आद्यान् देशान् प्रवक्ष्यामः. The reference below is to the Himalayan peoples.

4. Mk, Vy *acde*, Bmd, Mts—पर्वताश्रयिणश्च ये; Vmn—पर्वताश्रयिणस्तु ये

5. Mk— नीहारा हंसमार्गाश्च; Vy *acde*, Bmd—निगर्हरा हंसमार्गाः; Mts—निराहाराः सर्वगाश्च; Vmn *a*—निराहारं हंसमार्गाः, *b*—निराहारा हंसमार्गाः. The Haṁsamārgas of the Himalayan region are also known from other passages; cf. below, Chapter III, Section VIII; also above, p. 26, note 8. They lived in North-West Kashmir. The name and location of the other people are uncertain.

6. Mk— कुरवो गुर्गणाः खसाः; Vy *acde*—क्षुपणास्तङ्गणाः खसाः, *e* (v.l.)—कुणपास्तङ्गणाः खसाः, क्षुपणास्तङ्गणास्त्रसाः, क्षुपणास्तङ्गणाः स्वसाः; Bmd—कुपथास्तङ्गणाः खसाः; Mts—कुपथा अपथास्तथा; Vmn—कुपथास्तङ्गणाः खशाः. These Kurus are doubtless the celebrated Uttarakurus living in the Himalayan region. The Khasas (identified with the modern Khakkas) lived about Kashmir. Mts, Vy and Bmd refer to a Himalayan locality called कुपथ or अपथ (cf. Chapter III, Section X, G). For the Taṅgaṇas, see above, p 26, note 9.

7. Mk. कुन्तप्रावरणाश्चैव; Vy *acde*—कुशप्रावरणाश्चैव; Bmd, Vy *b*—कर्णप्रावरणाश्चैव; Mts, Vmn, Vy *e* (v.l.)—कुथप्रावरणाश्चैव. Both कुथप्रावरण and कर्णप्रावरण situated in the Himalayan region are elsewhere mentioned in Mts, Vy and Bmd (cf. Chapter III, Section X, G and H). Rām, IV, 40, 25 locates कर्णप्रावरण in the eastern direction, probably in the eastern Himalayas.

8. Mk *a*—उर्णा दार्वाः सकृत्रकाः; *bcd*—ऊर्णा दार्वाः सकृत्रकाः; Vy *acde*—हूणा दर्वाः सहूदकाः; Bmd—हूणदर्वाः बहूदकाः; Mts *a*—उर्णा दर्वाः समुद्गकाः, *bc*—ऊर्णा दर्वाः समुद्गकाः; Vmn—ऊर्णाः प्लुष्टाः सहूहुकाः; Vy *b*—हूणा दर्वाः सहूहकाः; *e* (v.l.)—हूणा दर्वाः सुहूहुकाः, हूणा दर्वाः सहूहुकाः. For the Hūṇas and Dārvas, see p. 27, note 2 above. For the Hūhukas of the Himalayan region, see Chapter III, Section X, H.

त्रिगर्त्ता मालवाश्चैव[1] किरातास्तामरैः (०स्तोमरैः ?) सह[2] ॥

VIII

Condensed List

Vsn, II, ch. 3, vv. 14-17; Krm, I, ch. 46 (47 in some texts), vv. 41-44; Bmh, 21, 15-17.

[3]तास्विमे कुरु-पाञ्चाला[4] मध्यदेशादयो जनाः[5] ।
पूर्वदेशादिकाश्चैव[6] कामरूपनिवासिनः[7] ॥
पुण्ड्राः (पाण्ड्याः) कलिङ्गा मगधा (माहिषा)[8] दाक्षिणात्याश्च कृत्स्नशः[9] ।
तथापरान्ताः सौराष्ट्राः[10] शूद्राभीरास्तथार्बुदाः[11] ॥

1. Mk *ac*, Vy—त्रिगर्त्ता मालवाश्चैव; Mk *d*—त्रिगर्त्ता गालवाश्चैव; Bmd—त्रिगर्त्ता मालयाश्चैव; Mts—त्रिगर्त्ता मण्डलाश्चैव. Vmn has rather freely—त्रिगर्त्ताश्च किराताश्च तोमराः शशिखाद्रिकाः. Trigarta=modern Jalandhar region. For the *Sapta-mālava* or seven localities called Mālava, see Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, p. 492 n. Mālava in our text may be the same as the country of that name identified with the cis-Satlaj districts of the Punjab together with some Himalayan territory.

2. Mk, Vy *acde*, Bmd—किरातास्तामसैः सह; Vy *b*—किरातास्तामरैः सह; Mts—किराताश्चामरैः सह. Kirātas=Himalayan mountaineers : cf. the name of modern Kirānti, etc. See p. 22, note 1. The reading तोमर (for तामर) is supported by some passages; cf. Chapter III, Section X, H. See also p. 26, n. 8 above.

3. This later list is very carelessly compiled and probably had some mistakes even in the original draft.

4. Vsn, Krm—तास्विमे कुरुपाञ्चालाः; Bmd—तास्विमे कुरुपञ्चालः. See above, p. 21, note 2.

5. Vsn, Krm Bmh—मध्यदेशादयो जनाः. Madhyadeśa lay between the East Punjab and Eastern U.P. and between the East Punjab and the Oxus lay Udīcya.

6. Vsn, Krm, Bmh—पूर्वदेशादिकाश्चैव. Originally Prāchya or Pūrvadeśa included the lands lying to the east of Eastern U. P.

7. Vsn, Krm, Bmh—कामरूपनिवासिनः

8. Vsn, Krm—पुण्ड्राः कलिङ्गा मगधाः; Bmh—पौण्ड्राः कलिङ्गा मगधाः. See above, pp. 29-30.

9. Vsn, Krm.—दाक्षिणात्याश्च कृत्स्नशः; Bmh—दाक्षिणात्याश्च सर्वशः. Dākṣiṇātya or Dakṣiṇāpatha lay to the south of the Vindhya or the Narmadā.

10. Vsn—तथापरान्ताः सौराष्ट्राः; Bmh—तथापरान्त्याः सौराष्ट्राः; Krm—तथापरान्ताः सौराष्ट्रः. Aparānta lay to the west of Malwa.

11. Vsn, Bmh, Krm *ab* (v.l.)—शूद्राभीरास्तथार्बुदाः; Krm *bc*—शूद्रा हीनास्तथार्बुदाः

मा(म)रुका मालवाश्चैव[1] पारियात्रनिवासिनः[2] ।
सौवीराः सैन्धवा हूणाः[3] शाल्वाः शाकलवासिनः[4] ॥
मद्रारामा(द्रकारा?)स्तथाम्बष्ठाः[5] पारसीकादयस्तथा[6] ॥

1. Vsn—कारूषा मालवाश्चैव; Krm *a*—मालका मालवाश्चैव, *b*—मालाका मलपाश्चैव, v.l.—मालका मलयाश्चैव, *c*—मालका मलपाश्चैव; Bmh—मारुका मालवाश्चैव. Maruka=Maru or Marwar. See above, p. 26, note 2.

2. Vsn, Krm *a*—पारिपात्रनिवासिनः; Krm *b*—परियात्रानिवासिनः; Krm *c*, Bmh—पारियात्रनिवासिनः

3. Vsn, Krm—सौवीराः सैन्धवा हूणाः; Krm *b* (v.l.)—सौवीराः सैन्धवाकूणाः, *c* (v.l.)—सौवीराः सैन्धवाकृष्णाः; Bmh—सोवीराः सैन्धवापस्नाः. See above, p. 24, notes 2 and 4.

4. Vsn, Bmh—शाल्वाः शाकलवासिनः; Krm *a*—शाल्वाः कान्यनिवासिनः, *b*—माल्या वाल्यानिवासिनः, v.l., *c* (v.l.)—शाल्वाः कल्पनिवासिनः See above, p. 21, note 3; p. 24, note 2.

5. Vsn, Bmh—मद्रारामास्तथाम्बष्ठाः; Krm *a*—मद्रारामास्तथैवान्ध्राः, *bc*—माद्रारामास्तथैवान्ध्राः. See above, p. 21, note 4. For the Ambaṣṭhas living on the lower Chenab, see Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, pp. 206-07.

6. Krm—पारसीकास्तथैव च; Vsn, Bmh—पारसीकादयस्तथा. The Pārasīkas (Persians) are not mentioned in the bigger list or in any work earlier than Mbh, VI, 9, 65-66, and Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa*, IV, 60. They are also mentioned in the *Pādatāḍitaka-bhāṇa* (5th century), the *Mudrārākshasa* (c. 7th century) and the *Gauḍavaha* (8th century). See *Suc. Sāt.*, p. 326; *JRAS*, 1946, p. 51.

III
PURANIC LIST OF RIVERS

For Introductory remarks and list of abbreviations, see above, pp. 17 ff.

TEXT

[Bmd, ch. 49, vv. 28-42; Krm, I, ch. 46 (ch. 47 in some versions), vv. 28-39 ; Mk, ch. 57 (ch. 54 in some versions), vv. 17-30 ; Mts, ch. 114, vv. 20-32 ; Vmn, ch. 13, vv. 20-33 ; Vy, ch. 45 (of Book I according to some versions; cf. also Sachau, *Alb. Ind.*, I, pp. 357-39), vv. 94-107.]

I

[1]पीयन्ते यैरिमा नद्यो[2] गङ्गा सिन्धुः सरस्वती[3] ।

1. The following line is omitted in Krm. A little independence as regards the order of enumeration of the rivers issuing from the Himavat (Himālaya) is noticed in Mk and, to a greater degree with deliberate omissions and commissions, in Vmn. Mk has गङ्गा सरस्वती सिन्धुश्चन्द्रभागा तथा परा । यमुना च शतद्रुश्च वितस्तेरावती कुहुः ॥ गोमती धूतपापा (*c*–धृत०) च बाहुदा (*d*–ब०) सदृशद्वती (*d*–च०) । विपाशा (*b*–सा०) देविका रङ्क्षुर्निश्चीरा गण्डकी तथा ॥ कौशिकी चापगा विप्र हिमवत्पादनिःसृताः ॥ Vmn has—सरस्वती पञ्चरूपा कालिन्दी च हिरण्वती । शतद्रुश्चन्द्रिका नीला वितस्तेरावती कुहुः ॥ मधुरा हाररावी च उशीरा धातुकी (*b*–०त०) रसा । गोमती धूतपापा च बाहुदा सा दृषद्वती ॥ निःस्वरा गण्डकी चित्रा कौशिकी तु वधूसरा । सरयूश्च सलोहित्या (*b*–०लौ०) हिमवत्पादनिःसृताः ॥ Most of the Himalayan rivers are noticed by Al-Bīrūnī. Vide *infra*, p. 43, note 2. Though he speaks of both Vy and Mts, possibly the names were quoted by him from the latter work with an amount of misunderstanding and confusion.

2. Vy, Bmd—[तैर्विमिश्रा जनपदा आर्यम्लेच्छाश्च (Vy *e*–०र्या०) नित्यशः ।] पीयन्ते यैरिमा नद्यः; Mts—[तैर्विमिश्रा जनपदा (*bc*–जा०) आर्या म्लेच्छाश्च सर्वतः ।] पिबन्ति बहुला नद्यः. Cf. p. 60, n. 2; p. 64, n. 3.

3. Vy. Bmd, Mts—गङ्गा सिन्धुः सरस्वती; Mk—गङ्गा सरस्वती सिन्धुः. Omitted in Krm. Some Mts versions read the names of the rivers in the second case-ending. It is well known that the Gangā

शतद्रुश्चन्द्रभागा च[1] यमुना सरयूस्तथा[2] ॥

is the Ganges and the Sindhu the Indus. The Sarasvatī rises in the Sirmur hills of the Siwalik range in the Himalayas and emerges into the plains at Ād-Badrī in the Ambala District, Punjab. It disappears once at Chalaur but reappears at Bhavanipur; then it disappears at Balchappar but again appears at Bara Khera; next it is joined by the Mārkaṇḍa at Urnai near Pehoa and the united stream, still called Sarasvatī, ultimately falls into the Ghaggar which is believed to have borne the name Sarasvatī in ancient times. In the early Vedic period, the Sarasvatī probably flowed into the Arabian Sea. Later literature speaks of its disappearance at Vinaśana (near modern Sirsa) in Kurukṣetra or Brahmāvarta (in the Eastern Punjab) which is described as the land between the Sarasvatī and the Dṛṣadvatī. Cf. दक्षिणेन सरस्वत्या उत्तरेण दृषद्वतीम् । ये वसन्ति कुरुक्षेत्रे ते वसन्ति त्रिविष्टपे ॥ (*Mbh*, III, 83, 204-05); सरस्वतीदृषद्वत्योर्देवनद्योर्यदन्तरम् । तं देवनिर्मितं देशं ब्रह्मावर्तं प्रचक्षते ॥ (*Manu*, II, 17). Vide *infra*, p. 41, note 4.

1. Vy, Bmd, Krm, Mts—शतद्रुश्चन्द्रभागा च; cf. Vmn—शतद्रुश्चन्द्रिका नीला. The Śatadru is the modern Satlaj. It is the Vedic Śutudri and the Zaradros or Hesydrus of the Classical writers. The Chandrabhāgā is the modern Chenab which is the same as Asiknī of the Vedic literature and the Acesines of the Classical authors. Ptolemy calls it Sandabala or Sandabal. The Nīlā referred to by Vmn reminds us of the name Nilāb applied by the early Muslim writers to a part of the river Indus (cf. Ray, *DHNI*, I, p. 84).

2. Vy *a*, Mts *a*—यमुना सरयुस्तथा; Bmd, Vy *cde*, Mts *b*—यमुना सरयूस्तथा; Krm *a*—सरयु यमुना तथा; *bc*—सरयूर्यमुना तथा; Mts *c*, Vy *e* (v.l.)—यमुना शरयूस्तथा. The Yamunā is the modern Jumnā (Yamunā) joining the Ganges near Allahabad. The Sarayū is the modern Ghagra or Gogra on which the ancient city of Ayodhyā (near Fyzabad) is situated. It rises in the Kumaon hills and is called Sarayū, Ghagra or Devā (after its junction with the Kālīnadī).

इरावती वितस्ता च[1] विपाशा देविका कुहूः[2] ।
गोमती धूतपापा च[3] बाहुदा च दृषद्वती[4] ॥

1. Vy, Bmd, Krm, Mts *a*—इरावती वितस्ता च ; Mts *bc*—ऐरावती वितस्ता च. The Irāvatī or Airāvatī is the modern Rāvī which was known to the Classical writers as Hydraotes. The Vitastā is the modern Jhelam, the upper course of which is still known by the old name. It was known to the Classical writers as the Hydaspes or Bidaspes.

2. Vy *a*, Bmd—विपाशा देविका कुहूः; Krm, Mts *a*, Vy *cde*—विपाशा देविका कुहूः; Krm *b* (v. l.) विपाशा ह्रेविका कुहुः ; Mts *bc*—विशाला देविका कुहूः. The Vipāśā is the modern Beas, called the Vipāś in earlier literature and the Hyphasis or Bipasis in the works of the Classical writers. The Devikā is the modern Deeg, a tributary of the Rāvī. Another identification suggested by some writers is that with the Devā, a name applied to the lower course of the Sarayū. The Kuhū has been identified with the modern Kabul river, called Kubhā in the *Ṛgveda* and Kophen, Kophes or Koa by the Classical writers.

3. Mk *abd*, Vy *abc*, Bmd, Krm, Vmn—गोमती धूतपापा च; Vy *de*—गोमती धुतपापा च; Mts—गोमती धौतपापा च; Mk *c*—गोमती धृतपापा च. The river Gomatī has to be identified with the Ṛgvedic Gomatī which is the modern Gomal a western tributary of the Indus, or with the modern Goomti which joins the Ganges below Benares. There is another river of this name in the Kangra District, Punjab. The Dhūtapāpā was a tributary of the Ganges in the Banaras region. The name has been associated with Ahopāp on the Goomti, 18 miles south-west of Sultanpur in U.P.

4. Mk *abc*—बाहुदा सदृशद्वती, *d*—बहुदा च दृशद्वती; Vy, Bmd, Krm, Mts—बाहुदा च दृषद्वती; Krm *b* (v. l.) Vy *e* (v. l.)—बहुदा च दृषद्वती; Vmn—बाहुदा सा दृषद्वती. The Bāhudā has been identified by some with the Dhavalā (modern Dhumela or Burhī-Rāptī), a tributary of the Rāptī, and by others with the Rāmgaṅgā that joins the Ganges near Kanauj. The river Dṛṣadvatī is usually identified with the Citang, Citrang or Cautang which runs parallel to the Sarasvatī ; but some writers prefer its identification with the

[1]कौशिकी च तृतीया तु[2] निश्चीरा गण्डकी तथा[3] ।
इक्षुर्लौहित्य इत्येता[4]

Rakshi that flows by the south-east of Thanesvar. The view of certain earlier writers identifying the Dṛṣadvatī with the Ghaggar seems to be unjustifiable.

1. The following two lines are contracted into one in Krm—कौशिकी लोहिनी (*b* [v.l.], *c* [v. l.]—लोहिता) चेति हिमवत्-पादनिःसृताः. Vmn and Mk arrange the names rather independently.

2. Vy, Bmd—कौशिकी च तृतीया तु; Mts—कौशिकी तु तृतीया च. Pargiter suggests the emendation—कौशिकी करतोया तु or कौशिकी च त्रिस्रोतास्तु. The Kauśikī is no doubt, the modern Kosi which runs through Nepal and Tirhut and joins the Ganges below Patna ; but originally the river seems to have passed through North Bengal to join the Brahmaputra. There is another Kosi (Kauśikī) which flows by Almora and Ramnagar in North-Western U. P. *Tṛtīyā* may be a mistake for Karatoyā the celebrated river of North Bengal. *Niścīrā* seems also to be a mistake for *Trisrotas*, the Sanskrit name of the Teestā in North Bengal. Agn (ch. 116, 7) seems to locate the rivers Tṛtīyā and Niścīrā in the Gayā region ; but the evidence is doubtful, and, moreover, in that case, they cannot be associated with the Himalayas. Cf. *infra*, note 3.

3. Mk, Vy, Bmd—निश्चीरा गण्डकी तथा; Mts—निश्चला गण्डकी तथा; Vmn—निःस्वरा गण्डकी चित्रा. For *Niścīrā*, see remarks above, note 2. The Gaṇḍakī (modern Gaṇḍak) is the famous tributary of the Ganges and joins the river near Sonepur (Hariharakṣetra) in the Muzaffarpur District, Bihar.

4. Vy, Bmd—इक्षुर्लौहित इत्येताः ; Mts *a*—इक्षुर्लौहितमित्येताः; *bc*—इक्षुर्लौहित्यमित्येताः; *c* (v. l.)—चङ्कु लोहितामित्येताः. The name Ikṣu may indicate the Ikṣumatī (modern Kālīnadī, a tributary of the Ganges) ; but the form *Caṅku* as well as *Raṅkṣu* (or *Vaṅkṣu*) in Mk probably suggests that it is no other than the Vakṣu or Oxus (Amu Darya) ; cf. Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa*, IV, 67, in Vallabha's commentary. The Lohitya or Lauhitya is the same as the Brahmaputra.

हिमवत्पादनि:सृता[1] ॥[2]

1. Mk, Vy, Bmd, Krm, Vmn—हिमवत्पादनि:सृता:; Mts—हिमवत्पार्श्वनि:सृता:, *c* (v. l.)—दिवमाप्नोति या: स्मरन्.

2. The following rivers are mentioned by Al-Bīrūnī (Sachau, *Alb. Ind.*, I, Ch. 25) as issuing from the Himavat: 1. Sindh (Sindhu or Indus) or the river of Vaihand (ancient Udabhāṇḍa or Udahāṇḍa, modern Und near. Attock), 2. Biyatta (Vitastā) or Jailam (Jhelam), 3. Candrabhāgā or Candrāha, 4. Biyāha (Vipāśā) to the west (sic. east) of Lahore, 5. Irāvatī to the east (sic. west) of Lahore, 6. Śatarudra or Śataldar (Śatadru or Satlaj), 7. Sarsat (Sarasvatī) flowing to the country of Sarsat (Sārasvata), 8. Jaun (Yamunā), 9. Gaṅgā, 10. Sarayū or Sarwa, 11. Devikā, 12. Kuhū, 13. Gomatī, 14. Dhūtapāpā, 15. Viśālā (cf. Mts *c*, *supra*, p. 41, note 2), 16. Bāhudāsa (sic. Bāhudā, with *sa* prefixed to the next name in the text consulted; cf. *supra*, p. 41, note 4), 17. Kauśikī, 18. Niścīrā, 19. Gaṇḍakī, 20. Lohitā, 21. Dṛṣadvatī. Other names of this list appear to have been wrongly taken mostly from that of the rivers issuing from the Pāriyātra (vide pp. 45-46). They are: 22. Tāmrā Aruṇā (Tāmravarṇā?), 23. Parṇāśā, 24. Vedasmṛti, 25. Vedāsinī or Vidāsinī (cf. *infra*, p. 45, note 1), 26. Candanā, 27. Kāwanā (same as Kawini, tributary of the Sarwa?), 28. Parā, 29. Carmaṇvatī, 30. Vidiśā, 31. Veṇumatī, 32. Śiprā that rises in the Pāriyātra and passes by Ujain (Ujjayinī), 33. Karatoyā, 34. Shmāhina (cf. *infra*, p. 45, note 4). Al-Bīrūnī further says (*op. cit.*, pp. 259 ff.), "In the mountains bordering on the kingdom of Kāyabish (Kāpiśa), i.e. Kābul, rises a river which is called the *Ghorvand* on account of its many branches. It is joined by several affluents: 1. the river of the pass of Ghūzak; 2. the river of the gorge of Panchīr (Panjshir falling into the Ghorvand), below the town of Parvān (about 8 miles to the north of Chārikar); 3-4. the river Sharvat and the river Sāva, which latter flows through the town of Lambagā (Lampāka), i.e. Lamghan; they join the Ghorvand at the fortress of Drūta; 5-6. the rivers Nūr and Kīrāt.—Swelled by these affluents, the Ghorvand (Kābul) is a great river opposite the town of Purshā-

var (modern Peshāwar) being there called *the ford*, from a ford near the village of Mahanāra on the eastern bank of the river, and it falls into the river Sindh (Indus) near the castle of Bītūr, below the capital of al-Kandahār (Gandhāra), i.e. Vaihand (Und near Attock).—The river Biyatta (Vitastā), known as Jailam (Jhelam), from the city of this name on its western bank, and the river Candarāha (Candrabhāgā) join each other nearly fifty miles above Jahrāvār (which together with Mūltān comprised the ancient Sauvīra country ; cf. *loc. cit.*, pp. 300, 302), and pass along west of Mūltān (which was originally known as Kaśyapapura, next as Haṁsapura, then as Vegapura, afterwards as Sāmbapura and ultimately as Mūlāsthāna ; cf. the views of Utpala ; *loc. cit.*, p. 298).—The river Biyāh (Vipāśā) flows east of Mūltān, and joins afterwards the Biyatta (Vitastā) and Candarāha (Candrabhāgā).—The river Irāva (Irāvatī) is joined by the river Kaj which rises in Nagarkot in the mountains of Bhātul. Thereupon follows as the fifth, the river Śatladar (Śatadru).—After these five rivers have united below Mūltān at a place called *Pañcanada*, i.e. the meeting place of the five rivers, they form an enormous watercourse......The Muslims call the river, after it has passed the Sindhī city Aror, as a united stream, the *river of Mihran.* Thus it extends......enclosing in its course places like islands until it reaches al-Mansūra, situated between several of its arms, and flows into the ocean at two places, near the city of Loharānī, and more eastward in the province of Kacch at a place called *Sindhusāgara*, i.e. *the Sindh Sea.*—As the name *union of five rivers* (Pañcanada) occurs in this part of the world (the Punjab), we observe that a similar name is used also to the north of the above-mentioned mountain chains (i.e. the mountain bordering on the kingdom of Kāyabish), for the rivers which flow thence towards the north after having united near Tirmidh and having formed the river of Balkh, are called the union of *seven rivers* (cf. *hapta-hindu* of the ancient Iranians). The Zoroastrians of Sogdiana (Bukhara region) have confounded these two things ; for they say that the whole of the seven rivers is *Sindh*, and its upper course Barīdīsh........ The river Sarsati (Prabhāsa-Sarasvatī, mod. Raunakshi) falls into the sea at the distance of

II

वेदस्मृतिर्वेदवती[1] वृत्रघ्नी सिन्धुरेव च[2] ।
पर्णाशा चन्दना चैव[3] सदानीरा मही तथा[4] ॥

a bow-shot east of Somnāth.—The river Jaun (Yamunā) joins the Ganges below Kanoj, which lies west of it. The united stream falls into the great ocean near Gaṅgāsāgara.—Between the mouths of the rivers Sarsati and Ganges is the mouth of the river Narmadā which descends from the eastern mountains, takes its course in a south-western direction and falls into the sea near the town of Bahroj (Broach) nearly sixty *yojana* east of Somnāth.—Behind the Ganges flow the rivers Rahab (modern Rāmgaṅgā) and Kavīnī which join the river Sarva near the city of Bārī (to the east of the Ganges at a distance of three to four days' marches from Kanoj; cf. p. 199)".

1. Mk, Vy, Bmd, Krm—वेदस्मृतिर्वेदवती; Krm *b* (v.l.), *c* (v.l.)—वेदस्मृतिर्वेदरता; Mts—वेदस्मृतिर्वेत्रवती. The Vedasmṛti has been identified with the modern Besulā in Malwa. For the Vetravatī, vide *infra*, p. 46, note 3.

2. Mk, Vy *acde*, Bmd, Mts, Vmn—वृत्रघ्नी सिन्धुरेव च; Krm—व्रतघ्नी त्रिदिवा तथा; Vy *b* recognises Vṛtraghnī (cf. Vārtaghnī in Km.; modern Vātrak, a tributary of the Sabarmatī in Gujarāt) only. The Sindhu is no doubt the modern Kālīsindh, a tributary of the Jumna between the Chambal and the Betwa.

3. Mk. *abc*—वेण्वा सा नन्दनी चैव, *d*—वेण्वा सा नन्दना चैव; Vy *a*, Krm *ab* (v.l.) *c* (v. l.)—पर्णाशा चन्दना चैव; Bmd, Vy *cde*, Krm *bc*—वर्णासा चन्दना चैव; Mts—पर्णाशा नर्मदा चैव; Vmn *a*—पर्णाशा नन्दिनी चैव, *b*—पर्णासा नन्दिनी चैव; Vy *b*—पर्णाशा नन्दना चैव; Krm *b* (v. l.), *c*(v. l.)—पर्णासा बन्धना चैव, *b* (v. l.)—पर्णाशा बन्धना चैव. The Parṇāśā is no other than the modern Banās, a tributary of the Chambal, in Rajasthan. *Candanā* is believed to have been another name of the Sābarmatī.

4. Mk, Bmd, Vy *d* (v. l.)—सदानीरा मही तथा; Vy *acde*—सतीरा महती तथा, *b*—सद्दानारा मदी तथा (sic), *c* (v.l.)—सदा तीरा मही तथा; Krm *ab* (v. l.)—सदानीरा मनोरमा, *bc*—सचर्मण्यवती सुरा; Mts—कावेरी महती तथा; Vmn—पावनी च मही तथा The Mahī is no doubt the river of that name rising in Malwa and draining itself in the Gulf of Cambay. Sadānīrā cannot be satisfactiorily identified.

[1]पारा चर्मण्वती लूपी (?)[2] विदिशा वेत्रवत्यपि[3] ।
[4]शिप्रा ह्यवन्ती कुन्ती च[5] पारियात्राश्रयाः स्मृताः[6] ॥

1. The following two lines have been contracted into one in Krm *bc*—विदिशा वेत्रवत्यपि पारियात्राश्रयाः स्मृताः; *b* (v. l.)—चर्मण्वती तथा सूर्यां विदिशा वेत्रवत्यपि.

2. Mk *ac*—पारा चर्मण्वती तापी, *bd*—पारा चर्मण्वती नूपी; Bmd, Vy *acde*—पारा चर्मण्वती चैव; Vy *b*—परा चर्मण्वती लूपा (?), *e* (v.l.)—पारा चर्मण्वती चैव; Krm—चर्मण्वती तथा दूर्या, *b* (v.l.)—चर्मण्वती तथा सूर्या; Mts—पारा च धन्वती रूपा, *c* (v.l.)—पारा चर्मण्वती रूपा. The Pārā may be the same as the Pārvatī which rises in Bhopal and is a tributary of the Chambal, while Charmaṇvatī is no other than the Chambal itself. The Chambal is a well-known tributary of the Jumna. The reading of the third name and its identification are uncertain.

3. Mk, Vy *acde*, Bmd, Krm—विदिशा वेत्रवत्यपि; Mts—विदुषा वेणुमत्यपि; Vmn—विदिशा वेणुमत्यपि; Vy *b* recognises Vidiśā only. The river Vidiśā is the modern Bes or Besali which falls into the Betwa near Besnagar (ancient Vidiśānagarī). The Vetravatī is the modern Betwa which is a tributary of the Jumna.

4. This line is omitted in Krm *a* and Vy *b*.

5. Mk *abc*—शिप्रा ह्यवर्णी च तथा; Vy *acde*, Bmd—शिप्रा ह्यवन्ती च तथा; Vy *e* (v. l.), Mk *d*—क्षिप्रा ह्यवन्ती च तथा; Mts—शिप्रा ह्यवन्ती कुन्ती च; Vmn—चित्रा ह्योघवती रम्या. The Śiprā is mentioned in literature as the river on which the celebrated city of Ujjayinī (modern Ujjain in Madhya Pradesh) was situated. The river Avantī rises near Mhow and flows into the Chambal. The Kuntī, otherwise called Aśvanadī or Aśvarathanadī, is a small tributary of the Chambal (see Dey, *Geog. Dict.*, s.v. *Kuntī-Bhoja*).

6. Mk *abc*, Bmd—पारिपात्राश्रयाः स्मृताः; Vy, Mk *d*—परियात्राश्रयाः स्मृताः; Mts—पारियात्राश्रिताः स्मृताः; Vmn—पारियात्रोद्भवाः स्मृताः. Pāriyātra or Pāripātra was the name applied to the Western Vindhyas together with the Aravelly range.

III

[1]शोणो महानदी चैव[2] नर्मदा सुरसा क्रिया[3] ।
मन्दाकिनी दशार्णा च[4] चित्रकूटा तथैव च[5] ॥
[6]तमसा पिप्पलश्रोणी[7] करमोदा पिशाचिका[8] ।

1. This line is omitted in Mts *ab*. For the first three lines, Krm reads rather freely—नर्मदा सुरसा शोणो दशार्णा च महानदी । मन्दाकिनी चित्रकूटा तामसी च पिशाचिका ॥

2. Vy, Bmd, Mts *c*—शोणो महानदश्चैव; Vmn—शोणो महानदी चैव. The Śoṇa is the celebrated Sone which rises in the Amarkantak range and drains itself into the Ganges not far from Patna. The ancient city of Pāṭaliputra stood at the junction of the Śoṇa and the Gaṅgā. The Mahānadī also rises from the same range and flows through Orissa into the Bay of Bengal.

3. Mk—नर्मदा सुरथाद्रिजा; Vy *acde*—नर्मदा सुमहा द्रुमा, *b*—नर्मदा सुरसा किर्वा (sic. क्रिया), *c* (v. l.), *e* (v. l.)—नर्मदा सुरहा द्रुमा; Bmd—नर्मदा सुवहा द्रुमा; Vmn—नर्मदा सुरसा क्रिया; Mts *c*—नन्दना सुकृशा क्षमा; cf. सुरसा शिवा in Grd, I, 55, 8. The Narmadā is the famous Narbadā (Nerbudda) which rises in the Amarkantak range and falls into the Arabian Sea. The reading of the other names and their identification are uncertain.

4. Mk, Vy, Bmd, Mts, Vmn—मन्दाकिनी दशार्णा च. The Mandākinī (now called Mandākin) flows into the Paisuni near the Citrakūṭa hill, while the Daśārṇā is the modern Dhasan flowing past Saugor between the Betwa and the Ken.

5. Mk—चित्रकूटा तथापरा; Vy, Bmd, Mts—चित्रकूटा तथैव च; Vmn—चित्रकूटा हि देविका. The Citrakūṭā was either the same as the Mandākin or a part of it.

6. This line is omitted in Krm. A little freedom is noticed in some texts as regards the order of the names in the following two lines. Mk has—चित्रोत्पला सतमसा करमोदा पिशाचिका । तथान्या पिप्पलिश्रोणिर्विपाशा (*d*—पिप्पल०) वञ्जुला नदी ॥ Mts has—तमसा पिप्पली श्येनी तथा चित्रोत्पलापि च । विमला चञ्चला चैव तथा च धूतवाहिनी ॥ Vmn has—चित्रोत्पला वै तमसा करमोदा (*b*—०तोया) पिशाचिका । तथान्या पिप्पलश्रेणी विपाशा वञ्जुलावती ॥

7. Vy *ade*, Bmd—तमसा पिप्पला श्रोणी; Mts—तमसा पिप्पली श्येणी; Vy *bc*—तमसा पिप्यला श्रोणी. The Tamasā is the modern Tons flowing into the Ganges below Allahabad. The Pippalaśroṇī may be the modern Paisuni or Parsaroni which is a tributary of the Jumna running between the Ken and the Tons.

8. Mk—करमोदा पिशाचिका; Vy *acde*, Bmd, Vmn—करतोया

चित्रोत्पला विपाशा च[1] मञ्जुला बालुवाहिनी[2] ॥
[3]शुनी लज्जा शुक्तिमती[4] शकुली त्रिदिवा क्रमुः[5] ।

पिशाचिका; Vy *b*—करमोदा पिशाबिका (sic. पिशाचिका). Pargiter suggests the identification of the Karamodā with the modern Karamnāśā flowing into the Ganges above the Sone. The Piśāchikā cannot be identified.

1. Vy *acde*, Bmd—नीलोत्पला विपाशा च; Krm, चित्रोत्पला विशाला च, *b* (v. l.), *c* (v. l.)—चित्रोत्पला विपाशा च; Vy *b*—चित्रपला (sic. चित्रोत्पला) महावेगा, *c* (v. l.)—चितोत्पला विपाशा च. The Citrotpalā is a branch of the Mahānadī in Orissa or the Mahānadī itself below its junction with the Pyri. The other river cannot be identified.

2. Vy *acde*—जम्बुला बालुवाहिनी, *bc* (v.l.)—वञ्जुला बालुवाहिनी; Bmd—जम्बूला बालुवाहिनी; Krm—मञ्जुला बालुवाहिनी, *b* (v.l.) *c* (v.l.) —मञ्जुला रत्नवाहिनी.

3. The following line is omitted in Krm.

4. Mk—सुमेरुजा शुक्तिमती; Vy *acde*, Bmd—सितेरजा शुक्तिमती; Vy *b* has Śuktimatī only, *c* (v.l.)—सितेरजा मुक्तिमती; Mts *a*—शुक्तिमती शुनी लज्जा, *bc*—शुक्तिमन्ती शुनी लज्जा; Vmn—सत्सन्तजा शुक्तिमती. The Śuktimatī is the modern Ken, a tributary of the Jumna, flowing through Bundelkhand. On its bank stood a city of the same name (Pali *Sotthivatī*) which was the ancient capital of the Cedi people. The reading of the other name and its identification are uncertain.

5. Mk *ab*—शकुली त्रिदिवा क्रमुः, *c*—शकुली त्रिदिवा क्रमः, d—सकुली त्रिदिवा क्रमुः; Vy *acde*—मक्रुणा त्रिदिवा क्रमात्, *c* (v. l.)—मक्षणा त्रिदिवा क्रमात्, *e* (v.l.)—मक्रणा त्रिदिवा क्रमा; Bmd—मक्षुणा त्रिदिवा क्रमात्; Mts *ab*—मुकुटा ह्रदिकापि च, *c*—मुकुटा ह्रादिकापि च; Vmn—चक्रिणी त्रिदिवा वसुः; Vy *b*—शक्रुणा त्रिदिवा क्रमात्. The Śakulī (Śakrulī ?) may be the Sakri which flows into the Seonath, a tributary of the Mahānadī. The reading of the other names and their identification are uncertain.

ऋक्षपादात् प्रसूतास्ता[1] नद्यो मणिनिभोदका:[2] ॥[3]

1. Mk *ac* (v. l.) *d*—ऋक्षपादप्रसूता वै; *bc*—स्कन्धपादप्रसूता वै; Vy, Bmd—ऋक्षपादात् प्रसूतास्ता:, Krm—ऋक्षवत्पादजा नद्य:; Mts *ac*—ऋक्षवन्तप्रसूतास्ता:, *b*—ऋष्यवन्तप्रसूतास्ता: ; Vmn—ऋक्षपादप्रसूता च. For the Ṛkṣavat, see below, note 3.

2. Mk—तथान्या वेगवाहिनी; Vy, Bmd—नद्यां मणिनिभोदका: ; Krm—सर्वपापहरा नृणाम्; Mts—नद्योमलजला: शुभा:; Vmn *a*—तथान्या बलवाहिनी, *b*—तथान्या वल्गुवाहिनी (फल्गु०?).

3. It is to be noted that the short list in Section IX below (pp. 55-57) wrongly speaks of some of these rivers as flowing not from the Ṛkṣavat but from the Vindhya. The name Ṛkṣavat was applied to a particular section of the range that was in a general sense called the Vindhya. While the name Vindhya was loosely applied to the whole chain of hills running from Gujarat to the Gayā region and lying on both sides of the Narmadā, that of the Ṛkṣavat, when especially mentioned in literature, is always associated with the central part of the Narmadā valley, of which Māhiṣmatī (Māndhātā in the Nimār District of Madhya Pradesh, Maheśvar in the former Indore State according to some) was the most important city and Daśārṇā (see p. 47, n. 4) a notable river. The Vindhya, when distinguished from the Ṛkṣavat, denotes the chain lying to the south of the Narmadā as suggested by Nīlkaṇṭha who explains the passage *Vindhy-Arkṣavantāv=abhitaḥ* (i.e., 'lying between the Vindhya and the Ṛkṣavat') in the *Hv*, II, 38, 7 as *Vindhyasy=ottarata Ṛkṣavato dakṣiṇata ity=arthaḥ* (i.e., 'lying to the north of the Vindhya and to the south of the Ṛkṣavat'). Cf. Raychaudhuri, *Stud. Ind. Ant.*, p. 128. The Puranic texts quoted above (cf. pp. 47 ff.) would also suggest that the Ṛkṣavat was that part of the Vindhyan range which lies to the north of the Narmadā and runs from the Malwa region right up to the sources of that river as well as of the Mahānadī.

[1]तापी पयोष्णी निर्विन्ध्या[2] शिप्रा च निषधावती[3] ।
वेण्वा वैतरणी चैव[4] शिनिबाहुः कुमुद्वती[5] ॥

1. In some texts slight independence is noticed in the order of the names contained in this line. Mk has—शिप्रा (*d*—क्षिप्रा) पयोष्णी निर्विन्ध्या तापी सनिषधावती (*d*—च निषधावती); Vmn has—शिवा पयोष्णी निर्विन्ध्या तापी सनिषधावती.

2. Vy *abde* (v.l.), Bmd, Krm, Mts—तापी पयोष्णी निर्विन्ध्या; Vy *ce*—तापी पयोष्णी निर्वन्ध्या. The Tāpī, otherwise called Tāptī, is the celebrated river that flows into the Arabian Sea. The Payoṣṇī has been identified by some scholars with the Pain or Paingaṅgā which is a tributary of the Godāvarī. The Nirvindhyā is the modern Newuj, a tributary of the Chambal flowing between the Betwa and the Kālīsindh.

3. Vy *acde*, Bmd—मद्रा च निषधा नदी; Vy *b*—सिवर्ा (sic.सिप्रा) च निषधा नदी; Krm—शीघ्रोदा च महानदी; Mts *a*—क्षिप्ता च ऋषभा नदी, *bc*—क्षिप्रा च ऋषभा नदी. Mk has *Śiprā* (*d*—*Kṣiprā*) and Vmn *Śivā* for *Madrā* (Bmd and Vy with the exception of *b*), *Śīghrodā* (Krm) and *Kṣiptā* or *Kṣiprā* (Mts). The Śiprā passed by the ancient city of Ujjayinī. The reading of the other name and its identification are uncertain.

4. Mk *ac*, Vy *abce* (v.l.), Bmd, Krm *a*—वेण्वा वैतरणी चैव; Vy *de*—वेन्वा वैतरणी चैव; Krm *bc*—विप्रा वैतरणी चैव, *b* (v.l.) *c* (v.l.)—वेण्या वैतरणी चैव, चिन्ता वैतरणी चैव; Mts, Vmn *b*—वेणा वैतरणी चैव; Vmn *a*—वणा (sic. वेणा) वैतरणी चैव; Mk *bd*—वेण्या वैतरणी चैव. The Veṇvā may be the Waingaṅgā, a tributary of the Godāvarī. Pargiter thinks that Veṇvā is the Wainganga together with the Prāṇhitā. The Vaitaraṇī seems to be the celebrated river of that name flowing through Orissa into the Bay of Bengal.

5. Mk *abc*—सिनीबाली कुमुद्वती, *d*—सिनीवाली कुमुद्वती; Vy *acde*, Bmd—शितिबाहु कुमुद्वती; Krm—वलाका च कुमुद्वती; Mts—विश्वमाला कुमुद्वती; Vmn—सिनीबाहुः कुमुद्वती; Vy *b*—सिनिहाहुः कुमुद्वती, *c* (v. l.)—शिनिबाहुः कुमुद्वती. The identification of the Kumudvatī and the reading of the other name are uncertain.

ब्रह्माणी च महागौरी[1] दुर्गा चान्तःशिला तथा[2] ।
विन्ध्यपादप्रसूतास्ता[3] नद्यः पुण्यजलाः शुभाः[4] ॥[5]

V

गोदावरी भीमरथी[6] कृष्णा वेण्वा च वञ्जुला ।[7]

1. Mk—करतोया महागौरी; Vy *a*—तोण्वा चैरमहागौरी; Vy *cde*, Bmd, Krm *a*, Mts—तोया चव महागौरी; Vy *b*—तोबा (sic. तोया) चैव महागौरी; Krm *bc*—तथा चैव महागौरी; Vmn—तोया रेवा महागौरी; cf. ब्रह्माणीं च महागौरीं दुर्गामपि च भारत in *Mbh*, VI, 9,33. The Brahmāṇī seems to be the same as the Brāhmaṇī river flowing through Orissa. The other river cannot be identified.

2. Mk *abc*—दुर्गा चान्तःशिरा तथा, *d*—दुर्गा चान्तःशिवा तथा; Vy, Bmd, Krm—दुर्गा चान्तःशिला तथा; Mts—दुर्गमा तु शिला तथा; Vmn—दुर्गन्धा वा शिला तथा; cf. दुर्गां चित्रशिलां चैव in *Mbh*, VI, 9,30. It is to be noted that *Mbh* mentions Durgā once in relation to Mahāgaurī (cf. note 1 above) and again in connection with Citraśilā (sic. *c*=*Āntaḥśilā*) probably due to confusion. The rivers cannot be identified.

3. Mk, Krm *a*, Mts—विन्ध्यपादप्रसूतास्ताः ; Vy, Bmd, Vmn—विन्ध्यपादप्रसूताश्च ; Krm *bc*—विन्ध्यपादप्रसूतास्तु. For the Vindhya, cf. note 1 above and p. 49, note 3.

4. Mk, Vy, Bmd, Vmn—नद्यः पुण्यजलाः शुभाः; Krm—सद्यः पापहरा नृणाम्, *b* (v. l.), *c* (v. l.) सद्यः पुण्यजलाः शुभाः; Mts.—सर्वाः शीतजलाः शुभाः; *c* (v. l.)—नद्यः शीतजलाः शुभाः.

5. Note that the short list in Section IX below (pp. 55-57) wrongly speaks of some of these rivers as flowing from the Ṛkṣavat and not from the Vindhya. Vide p. 49, note 3 above.

6. Mk *abc*—गोदावरी भीमरथा; Vy, Bmd, Mts, Vmn, Mk *d*, Krm *c*—गोदावरी भीमरथी; Krm *ab*—गोदावरी भीमरक्षी. The Godāvarī, still known by its ancient name, rises in the Western Ghats and flows through the Deccan into the Bay of Bengal. The Bhīmarathī or Bhīmarathā is the modern Bhīmā which is a tributary of the Kṛṣṇā.

7. Mk *ac*—कृष्णवेण्वा तथा परा, *bd*—कृष्णा वेण्या तथा परा; Vy *acde*, Bmd—कृष्णा वैण्यथ वञ्जुला; Krm *a*—कृष्णा वेणा च वैश्यता, *bc*—कृष्णा वेणा च वश्यता, *b* (v. l.)—कृष्णा वेणी च पासरी ; Mts—कृष्णवेणी च वञ्जुला; Vmn *a*—कृष्णवेण्या सरिद्वती, *b*—कृष्णा वेण्या सरिद्वती; Vy *b*—

तुङ्गभद्रा सुप्रयोगा[1] बाह्या कावेरी चैव तु[2] ॥
दक्षिणापथनद्यस्तु[3] सह्यपादाद्विनिःसृताः[4] ॥

VI

कृतमाला ताम्रपर्णी[5] पुष्पजा चोत्पलावती[6] ।

कृष्णा वेण्या सवञ्जुला. The Kṛṣṇā is still known by its ancient name and flows from the Western Ghats through the Deccan into the Bay of Bengal. The Veṇvā is the modern Veṇā which is a tributary of the Kṛṣṇā, the combined stream of the two rivers being often mentioned as Kṛṣṇaveṇā or Kṛṣṇaveṇī. The Vañjulā is no other than the modern Mañjīrā which is a southern tributary of the Godāvarī.

1. Mk, Vy, Bmd, Mts—तुङ्गभद्रा सुप्रयोगा; Vmn—विशभद्री सुप्रयोगा. The Tuṅgabhadrā is a well-known tributary of the Kṛṣṇā; But the Suprayogā cannot be identified.

2. Mk—बाह्या कावेर्यथापगा; Vy *acde*, Bmd—कावेरी च तथापगा; Krm—कावेरी च द्विजोत्तमाः ; Mts—बाह्या कावेरी चैव तु ; Vmn—बाह्या कावेरिरेव च; Vy *b*—पाजय (sic. वाह्या) कावेरी चैव तु. The Kāverī is the celebrated holy river of the southernmost part of India. It is mentioned by the Greek geographer Ptolemy as Khaberos rising from the Adeisathron mountain range. The other river cannot be identified.

3. Mk *abc*—विन्ध्य (sic. सह्य०) पादविनिष्क्रान्ता, *dh* (v. l.)—सह्यपादविनिष्क्रान्ता; Vy, Bmd, Mts *a*, Krm—दक्षिणापथनद्यस्तु ; Mts *bc*—दक्षिणापथनद्यस्ताः; Vmn—एताश्चापि महानद्यः, *b*—दुग्धोदा नलिनी चैव वारिसेना कलस्वना । एताश्चापि महानद्यः. Sahya is the name applied to that part of the Western Ghats which lies to the north of the Travancore hills. For the spurious addition of a line in Vmn *b*, cf. *JRASB.*, Letters, Vol. XIV, p. 44, note 3; p. 45, note 5, etc.

4. Mk—इत्येताः सरिदुत्तमाः; Vy, Bmd, Mts, Krm *bc*—सह्यपादाद्विनिःसृताः ; Krm *a*—सह्यपादविनिःसृताः; Vmn—सह्यपादविनिर्गताः.

5. Mk, Vy *a*, Krm *a*, Mts, Vmn—कृतमाला ताम्रपर्णी; Krm *bc*—ऋतुमाला ताम्रपर्णी ; Bmd, Vy *bcde* (v.l.)—कृतमाला ताम्रवर्णा; Vy *e*—कृतमाला ताम्रवर्णी. The Kṛtamālā is no other than the modern Vaigai running past Madurai (cf. *Caitanyacaritāmṛta*, Ch. IX). The Tāmraparṇī is now known as Tāmbravari which combines its stream with the Chittar in the Tiruneveli District of Madras.

6. Mk—पुष्पजा सूत्पलावती ; Vy, Bmd, Krm *a*—पुष्पजात्यु-

[1]मलयाभिजाता नद्यः[2] सर्वाः शीतजलाः शुभाः[3] ॥

VII

[4]त्रिसामा ऋषिकुल्या च[5] इक्षुला त्रिदिवा च या[6] ।

त्पलावती; Mts—पुष्पजा ह्युत्पलावती ; Vmn—वञ्जुला चोत्पलावती ; Krm. *b*—पुष्पवत्युत्पलावती, *c*—पुण्यवत्युत्पलावती. These rivers cannot be identified.

1. The following line is omitted in Vmn together with the two lines in Section VII following. Thus the Vmn text would make the rivers mentioned in Section VI flow from the Śuktimat mountain (cf. Section VIII below) apparently through mistake.

2. Mk—मलयाद्रिसमुद्भूताः, Vy—मलयाभिजातास्ता नद्यः ; Bmd—मलयाभिजाता नद्यः ; Krm—मलयान्निःसृता नद्यः ; Mts *a*—मलयप्रसूता नद्यः ; *bc*—मलयप्रसूता नद्यस्ताः. Malaya (derived from the Dravidian word *malai* meaning 'hill') was the name applied to the Travancore hills and the southernmost part of the Western Ghats.

3. Mk—नद्यः शीतजलास्त्विमाः ; Vy, Bmd, Mts—सर्वाः शीतजलाः शुभाः ; Krm—सर्वाः शीतजलाः स्मृताः.

4. The following two lines, as already indicated above (note 1), are omitted in Vmn and are represented in Krm by one line reading ऋषिकुल्या त्रिसामा च गन्धमादनगामिनी without any reference to the range from which the rivers spring. Thus the Krm text would wrongly represent the rivers mentioned in Section VII as issuing from the Śuktimat (see Section VIII).

5. Mk—पितृसोमर्षिकुल्या च ; Vy *acd*—त्रिसामा ऋतुकुल्या च, *b*—त्रिसागा ऋषिकुल्या च, *e*—त्रिसामा ऋतुकूल्या च ; Bmd—त्रिसामा ऋषिकुल्या च ; Krm—ऋषिकुल्या त्रिसामा च ; Mts—त्रिभागा ऋषिकुल्या च. The Ṛṣikulyā, still bearing its ancient name, flows into the Bay of Bengal near Berhampur on the South-Eastern Railway in the Ganjam District of Orissa. The other river cannot be satisfactorily identified.

6. Mk—इक्षुका त्रिदिवा च या ; Vy *acde*, Bmd—इक्षुला त्रिदिवा च या ; Mts—इक्षुदा त्रिदिवाचला ; Vy *b*—इक्षुला त्रिदिवायना. Cf. त्रिदिवामिक्षुलां कृमिम् in *Mbh*, VI, 9, 17.

[1]लाङ्गलिनी वंशधरा[2] महेन्द्रतनयाः स्मृताः[3] ॥

VIII

[4]ऋषिकुल्या कुमारी च[5] मन्दगा मन्दवाहिनी[6] ।

1. Mts reads for this line rather freely—ताम्रपर्णी तथा मूली शवरा (*c*—शबरा) विमला तथा । महेन्द्रतनयाः सर्वाः प्रख्याताः शुभगामिनीः ॥ It may be noted that *śubha-gāminīḥ* does not suit the context. Cf. Pargiter, *op. cit.*, pp. 78 ff.

2. Mk *ac*—लाङ्गलिनी वंशकरा, *bd*—लाङ्गूलिनी वंशकरा ; Vy *abd*, Bmd—लाङ्गुलिनी वंशधरा; Vy *ce*—लाङ्गूलिनी वंशधराः. The Lāṅguliṇī is the modern Lāṅguliyā running past Chicacole (Śrīkākulam) in the District of that name in Andhra Pradesh. The Vaṁśadharā (°dhārā), which is still known by the old name, runs past Kalingapatam near Chicacole.

3. Mk—महेन्द्रप्रभवाः स्मृताः ; Vy, Bmd—महेन्द्रतनयाः स्मृताः. Mahendra was the name applied to the Eastern Ghats. A small river passing by Parlakimedi is called Mahendratanayā, though the said expression in our text describes the rivers as sprung from the Mahendra.

4. Vmn contracts the two following lines into one—शुनी चैव सुदामा च शुक्तिमत्प्रभवास्त्विमाः (*b*—शक्तिमत्॰), while Krm reads rather freely—क्षिप्रा *b* (v. l.—रूपा) पलाशिनी चैव ऋषीका वंशधारिणी (*b* v.l., *c* v.l.—बलकारिणी, रसकारिणी) । शुक्तिमत्पादसञ्जाताः सर्वपापहरा नृणाम् ॥

5. Mk—ऋषिकुल्या कुमारी च; Vy *acde*—ऋषीका सुकुमारी च, *b*—ऋषीका सकुमारी च; Bmd—ऋषिका सुकुमारी च; Mts—काशिका सुकुमारी च. Cf. कुमारीमृषिकुल्याञ्च in Mbh, VI, 9, 36, and note that in this case at least Mk seems to preserve the original reading (cf. p. 57, note 3 below). Raychaudhuri's identification of Kumārī with the river of the same name in the Mānbhūm District in South Bihar seems to be quite probable in view of the plausibility of his identification of the *kula-parvata* called Śuktimat with the hills of Eastern India extending from Chhattisgarh to the Santal Parganas (see p. 55, note 2 below). The Ṛṣikulyā may be no other than the Koel in Chhota Nagpur. Another Ṛṣikulyā is no doubt the Kiul, a tributary of the Ganges.

6. Mk. Vy *acde*, Bmd, Mts—मन्दगा मन्दवाहिनी ; Vy *b*—बालुका मन्दवाहिनी ; cf. Krm—गन्धमादनगामिनी and Mbh, VI, 9, 33—मन्दगां मन्दवाहिनीम्. The rivers cannot be identified.

कूपा पलाशिनी चैव[1] शुक्तिमत्प्रभवाः स्मृताः[2] ॥

IX

[Vsn, II, ch. 3, vv. 9-13 ; Bmh, ch. 19, vv. 10-14 ; cf. Sv, Dharmasaṁhitā, ch. 34. vv. 9-12 ; Agn, ch. 118, vv. 6-8]

[3]शतद्रुश्चन्द्रभागाद्या[4] हिमवत्पादनिर्गताः[5] ।
वेदस्मृतिमुखाद्याश्च[6] पारियात्रोद्भवा मुने[7] ॥

1. Mk *abc*, Vy *e* (v. l.)—कृपा पलाशिनी चैव ; Mk *c* (v. l.)—कृशा पलाशिनी चैव, *d*—कुशा पलाशिनी चैव ; Vy *acde*—कूपा पलाशिनी चैव *b*—किर्पा (sic. कृपा) पलासिनी चैव; Bmd—कुपा पलाशिनी चैव ; Krm—क्षिप्रा पलाशिनी चैव ; Mts—कृपा च पाशिनी चैव. Raychaudhuri identifies the Kūpā with the modern Kopā, a tributary of the Bāblā in Eastern India, and the Palāśinī with the modern Parās, a tributary of the Koel in Chota Nagpur. The other river cannot be identified.

2. Mk *abc*, Vy, Bmd—शुक्तिमत्प्रभवाः स्मृताः ; Mk *b*—शुचिमत्प्रभवाः स्मृताः ; Mts—शुक्तिमन्तात्मजास्तुताः. The name of the Śuktimat is preserved in that of the Śakti hills in Raigarh, Madhya Pradesh, and possibly in that of the Suktel river which joins the Mahānadī near Sonepur in Orissa. The name Śuktimat was probably applied to the chain of hills that extends from Sakti in Riagarh, M. P., to the Dalma hills in Mānbhūm drained by the Kumārī and perhaps even to the hills in the Santal Parganas washed by the affluents of the Bāblā (Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 120).

3. This line is omitted in Sv. and Agn.

4. Vsn, Bmh—शतद्रुचन्द्रभागाद्याः (see p.40, note 1 above).

5. Vsn—हिमवत्पादनिर्गताः ; Bmh—हिमवत्पादनिःसृताः (see p. 43, note 1 above).

6. Vsn—वेदस्मृतिमुखाद्याश्च ; Bmh—वेदस्मृतिमुखाश्चान्याः; Sv, Agn—वेदस्मृतिमुखा नद्यः (see p. 45, note 1 above).

7. Vsn—पारिपात्रोद्भवा मुने ; Bmh, Sv—पारियात्रोद्भवा मुने ; Agn—पारिपात्रोद्भवास्तथा (see p. 46, note 6 above).

[1]नर्मदासुरसाद्याश्च[2] नद्यो विन्ध्याद्रिनिर्गताः[3] ।
[4]तापीपयोष्णीनिर्विन्ध्याप्रमुखा ऋक्षसम्भवाः[5] ॥
[6]गोदावरीभीमरथीकृष्णवेण्यादिकास्तथा[7] ।
सह्यपादोद्भवा नद्यः स्मृताः पापभयापहाः[8] ॥
[9]कृतमाला ताम्रपर्णी प्रमुखा मलयोद्भवाः[10] ।

1. For the following line, Sv has—नर्मदासुरसाद्याश्च सन्त्यन्याश्च सहस्रशः । विन्ध्योद्भवा महानद्यः सर्वपापहराः शुभाः ॥ Agn has—विन्ध्याच्च नर्मदाद्याः स्युः सह्यात् (sic. ऋक्षात्) तापी पयोष्णिका.

2. Vsn—नर्मदासुरसाद्याश्च ; Bmh—नर्मदासुरसाद्याश्च (see p. 47, note 3 above).

3. Vsn—नद्यो विन्ध्याद्रिनिर्गताः ; Bmh—नद्यो विन्ध्यविनिःसृताः. Note that the source of the Narmadā group of rivers is actually the Ṛkṣavat and not the Vindhya ; vide p.49, note 3 above.

4. For the following line, Bmh has—तापीपयोष्णीनिर्विन्ध्या-कावेरीप्रमुखा नदीः । ऋक्षपादोद्भवा ह्येताः श्रुताः पापं हरन्ति याः ॥ For the wrong *vibhakti* in *nadīḥ*, see p. 54, note 1 above. Note that the Tāpī and Kāverī are wrongly grouped together as rivers issuing from the Ṛkṣavat (see p.50, note 2; p. 51, note 3; p. 52, note 4 above). This line is omitted in Sv.

5. Vsn—तापीपयोष्णीनिर्विन्ध्याप्रमुखा ऋक्षसम्भवाः. Note that these rivers actually flow from the Vindhya and not from the Ṛkṣavat. See p. 49, note 3; p. 51, note 5 above.

6. For the following two lines, Sv has—गोदावरीभीमरथीतापी-प्रमुखतोयगाः । विन्ध्याद्रिनिर्गताः पुण्याः स्नानात् पापभयापहाः ॥ सह्यपादोद्भवा नद्यः कृष्णवेण्यादिकास्तथा ॥

7. Vsn, Bmh—गोदावरी भीमरथी कृष्णवेण्यादिकास्तथा ; Agn—गोदावरी भीमरथी कृष्णवेण्वादिकास्तथा.

8. Vsn, Bmh—सह्यपादोद्भवा नद्यः स्मृताः पापभयापहाः.

9. Agn has rather freely—मलयात् कृतमालाद्यास्त्रिसामाद्या महेन्द्रजाः । कुमाराद्याः शुक्तिमतो हिमाद्रेश्चन्द्रभागका ॥

10. Vsn, Bmh—कृतमालाताम्रपर्णीप्रमुखा मलयोद्भवाः.

त्रिसामा ऋषिकुल्याद्या[1] महेन्द्रप्रभवाः स्मृताः[2] ॥
ऋषिकुल्याकुमार्याद्याः[3] शुक्तिमत्पादसम्भवाः[4]॥[5]

X

[Bmd, 51, vv. 40-60; Mts, ch. 121, vv. 39-51; Vy, ch. 47, vv. 38-48; cf. Sachau, *Alb. Ind.*, I, pp. 24-62]

1. Vsn—त्रिसामा चार्ष्यकुल्याद्याः; Bmh—त्रिसान्ध्य ऋषिकुल्याद्याः; Sv—त्रियामा ऋषिकुल्याद्याः (see p.53, note 5 above).

2. Vsn, Bmh, Sv—महेन्द्रप्रभवाः स्मृताः (see p. 54, note 3 above).

3. Vsn, Sv—ऋषिकुल्याकुमार्याद्याः; Bmh—ऋषिकुल्याकुमाराद्याः (see p. 54, note 5 above).

4. Vsn, Sv, Bmd—शुक्तिमत्पादसम्भवाः (see p. 55, note 2 above).

5. Grd (I, ch. 56, 8-10) reads rather freely—वेदस्मृतिर्नर्मदा च वरदा सुरसा शिवा। तापी पयोष्णी सरयूः कावेरी गोमती तथा॥ गोदावरी भीमरथी कृष्णवेणी महानदी। केतुमाला ताम्रपर्णी चन्द्रभागा सरस्वती॥ ऋषिकुल्या च कावेरी मर्त्यगङ्गा पयस्विनी। विदर्भा च शतद्रुश्च नद्यः पापहराः शुभाः॥ Bgvt (V, ch. 19, section 17) has in prose—चन्द्रवशा ताम्रपर्णा अवटोदा कृतमाला वैहायसी कावेरी वेण्वा पयस्विनी शर्करावर्त्ता तुङ्गभद्रा कृष्णवेण्वा भीमरथी गोदावरी निर्विन्ध्या पयोष्णी तापी रेवा सुरसा नर्मदा चर्मण्वती अन्धः शोणश्च नदौ महानदी वेदस्मृति ऋषिकुल्या त्रिसामा कौशिकी मन्दाकिनी यमुना सरस्वती दृशद्वती गोमती सरयुरोघवती षष्ठवती सप्तवती सुषोमा शतद्रुश्चन्द्रभागा मरुद्वृधा वितस्ता असिक्नी विश्वेति महानद्यः॥ Cf. Km. (pp. 93-94): (a) पूर्वदेश—शोणलौहित्यौ नदौ गङ्गाकरतोयाकपिशाद्याश्च नद्यः। (b) दक्षिणापथ—नर्मदातापीपयोष्णीगोदावरीकावेरीभैमरथीवेण्वाकृष्णवेण्वावञ्जुरातुङ्गभद्राताम्रपर्ण्युत्पलावतीरावणगङ्गाद्या नद्यः। (c) पश्चाद्देश—सरस्वतीश्वभ्रवतीवार्तघ्नीमहीहिडिबाद्या नद्यः। (d) उत्तरापथ—गङ्गासिन्धुसरस्वताशतद्रुचन्द्रभागायमुनरावतीवितस्ताविपाशाकुहूदेविकाद्या नद्यः। The Kapiśā is the modern Kaśāi running through the Midnapur Dist., West Bengal. Śvabhravatī=mod. Śābarmatī. For longer lists of rivers, see Mbh, VI, ch. 9, 14-36; *Varāha Purāṇa*, ch. 85, etc.

A

नद्याः स्रोतस्तु गङ्गायाः[1] प्रत्यपद्यत सप्तधा[2] ।
नलिनी ह्लादिनी चैव[3] पावनी चैव प्राग्गता[4] ॥
सीता चक्षुश्च सिन्धुश्च[5] प्रतीचीं दिशमाश्रिताः[6] ।
सप्तमी त्वनुगा तासां[7] दक्षिणेन भगीरथम्[8] ॥
तस्माद्भागीरथी या सा[9]

1. Vy *adc*, Bmd—नद्याः स्रोतस्तु गङ्गायाः, *c*—नद्याः श्रोतस्तु गङ्गायाः ; Mts—स्रोतांसि त्रिपथायास्तु. Note that Al-Bīrūnī utilised, in regard to this section, the text of Mts; therefore here we shall have to speak of Mts *d* instead of Vy *b*. Thus Vy, when unspecified, would indicate here all the versions excepting Vy *b*.

2. Vy, Bmd—प्रत्यपद्यत सप्तधा ; Mts—प्रत्यपद्यन्त सप्तधा.

3. Vy, Bmd, Mts *d*—नलिनी ह्रादिनी चैव; Mts *abc*—नलिनी ह्लादिनी चैव.

4. Vy *a*— पावनी चैव प्रग्गता ; Vy *cde*—पावनी चैव प्राग्गता ; Mts—पावनी चैव प्राच्यगा.

5. Vy, Mts, Bmd—सीता चक्षुश्च सिन्धुश्च.

6. Vy, Bmd—प्रतीचीं दिशमाश्रिताः ; Mts—तिस्रस्ता वै प्रतीच्यगाः.

7. Vy, Mts—सप्तमी त्वनुगा तासां ; Bmd—सप्तमी हि समानीता.

8. Vy *acd*—दक्षिणेन भागीरथी; Vy *e*, Mts—दक्षिणेन भगीरथम् ; Bmd भगीरथमहात्मना.

9. Vy *a*—अस्माद् भागीरथी या सा, *cde*, Bmd—तस्माद् भागीरथी या सा ; Mts—तस्माद् भागीरथी सा वै. For these seven rivers, cf. *Rāmāyāṇa* (I, 43, 11-14 ; 44, 6) : विससर्ज ततो गङ्गां हरो विन्दुसरः प्रति । तस्यां विसृज्यमानायां सप्तस्रोतांसि जज्ञिरे ॥ ह्लादिनी पावनी चैव नलिनी च तथैव च । तिस्रः प्राचीं दिशं जग्मुर्गङ्गाः शिवजलाः शुभाः ॥ सुचक्षुश्चैव सीता च सिन्धुश्चैव महानदी । तिस्रश्चैता दिशं जग्मुः प्रतीचीन्तु दिशं शुभाः ॥ सप्तमी चान्वगात्तासां भगीरथरथन्तदा ।...........त्रीन् पथो भावयन्तीति तस्मात् त्रिपथगा स्मृता ॥ Of the seven streams, there is no difficulty about the identification of the Gaṅgā or Bhāgīrathī which is no other than the Ganges and of the Sindhu which is the Indus. The western stream Cakṣu is also apparently

प्रविष्टा दक्षिणोदधिम्[1] ॥
सप्तैता भावयन्तीह[2] हिमाह्वं वर्षमेव तु[3] ।
प्रसूताः सप्त नद्यस्ताः[4] शुभा विन्दुसरोद्भवाः[5] ॥

the same as Vakṣu or Vaṁkṣu, i.e. the Oxus or Amu Darya, while the second western river called Sītā may be no other than the Jaxartes or Syr Darya. As the eastern stream Hlādinī or Hrādinī is said to have run through the country of the Kirātas, who were hill-men inhabiting the eastern Himalayas, this river may be tentatively identified with the upper Brahmaputra. Indradvīpa, through which the other eastern river called Pāvanī passed, is identified by some scholars with Burma. Cf. subsection G below. See also the note in the same subsection on Vetrapatha and Śaṅkupatha (in Suvarṇabhūmi) through which the Pāvanī is said to have passed. This river may thus be tentatively identified with the Irawadi. The third eastern stream called Nalinī cannot be identified; but it is said to have entered into the sea in the Śaimi *maṇḍala* which reminds us of Siam. The name of Siam (Syāma-raṭṭha), which is unconnected with Sanskrit *śyāma*, is derived from that of a tribe called in Chinese *Sien*, Burmese *Shan*, Malayan *Syam*, Annamite *Xiem* and Cham *Syāṁ*. The Nalinī may thus be tentatively identified with the Salween or the Mekong. It must be remembered that the theory attributing the origin of all the seven rivers to the same lake in the Himalayas has to be regarded as a mere flight of fancy. The lists of countries washed by the rivers do not appear to be always accurate.

1. Vy, Mts *a*, Bmd—प्रविष्टा लवणोदधिम् ; Mts *bc*—प्रविष्टा दक्षिणोदधिम् .

2. Vy, Bmd—सप्तैता भावयन्तीह; Mts—सप्त चैता प्लावयन्ति.

3. Vy, Bmd—हिमाह्वं वर्षमेव तु ; Mts *a*—वर्षन्ति हिमसाह्वयम्, *bc*—वर्षं तु हिमसाह्वयम् . The Hima *varṣa* was otherwise called the Haimavata or Bhārata *varṣa* (Bmd, I, 33, 55, etc.) lying between the Himalayas and the sea.

4. Vy, Bmd—प्रसूताः सप्त नद्यस्ताः; Mts—प्रसूताः सप्त नद्यस्तु.

5. Vy, Bmd, Mts—शुभा विन्दुसरोद्भवाः.

नानादेशान् भावयन्त्यो[1] म्लेच्छप्रायांश्च सर्वशः[2] ।
[3]उपगच्छन्ति ताः सर्वा[4] यतो वर्षति वासवः[5] ॥

B

सिरीन्ध्रान् कुकुरांश्चीनान्[6] वर्वरान् यवनान् शकान्[7] ।
रुषाणांश्च कुणिन्दांश्च[8] अङ्गलोकवरांश्च यान्[9] ॥
कृत्वा द्विधा हिमवन्तं[10] सीतागात् पश्चिमोदधिम्[11] ॥

1. Vy *a*—नानादेशान् भावयन्तो, *d*—नानादेशान् भावयन्यो ; Bmd, Vy *ce*—नानादेशान् भावयन्त्यो ; Mts—तान् देशान् प्लावयन्ति स्म.

2. Vy, Mts, Bmd—म्लेच्छप्रायांश्च सर्वशः ; cf. p. 64, note 3 below, and p. 39, note 2 above.

3. The following line is omitted in Mts.

4. Vy, Bmd—उपगच्छन्ति ताः सर्वाः .

5. Vy, Bmd—यतो वर्षति वासवः.

6. Vy—सिरीन्ध्रान् कुन्तलांश्चीनान् ; Mts *abc*—सशैलान् कुकुरान् रौध्रान् ; Bmd—सिरीन्ध्रान् कुकुरांश्चीनान् ; Mts *d*—सलिलान् कर्त्तु-बांश्चीनान्. For the Cīnas, see above p. 25, note 6; below, p. 61, n. 1.

7. Vy —वर्वरान् यवसान् द्रुहान् ; Bmd—वर्वरान् यवनान् द्रुहान् ; Mts *ab*—वर्वरान् यवसान् खसान्, *c*—वर्वरान् यवनान् खसान्, v. l.—वर्वरान् यवनाञ्छकान्, *d*—वर्वरान् यवसान् ब्रहान्. For the Varvaras and Yavanas, see above p. 24, note 1, p. 25, note 5. The original home of the Śakas was the valleys of the Jaxartes and Oxus.

8. Vy, Bmd—रुषाणांश्च कुणिन्दांश्च ; Mts *abc*—पुलिकांश्च कुलत्थांश्च, पुष्करांश्च कुलतांश्च. For the Kuṇindas, see above p. 24, note 3, although the people indicated here must have lived in Central Asia. The Ruṣāṇas were the people of Roshan in the Tadzhik Republic.

9. Vy, Bmd—अङ्गलोकवराश्च ये ; Mts *abc*—अङ्गलोक्यान् वरांश्च यान्, *d*—मङ्गलकवरांश्च यान्. See above p. 25, note 5.

10. Vy—कृत्वा द्विधा सिन्धुमरुं; Bmd—कृत्वा द्विधा सिन्धुमेरुं; Mts *abc*—कृत्वा द्विधा हिमवन्तं, *d*—कृत्वा द्विधा सङ्गवन्तं.

11. Vy, Bmd, Mts *d*—सीतागात् पश्चिमोदधिम् ; Mts *abc*—प्रविष्टा दक्षिणोदधिम् .

C

अथ चीनमरूंश्चैव[1] तङ्गनान् सर्वशूलिकान्[2] ।
साध्रांस्तुषारान् लम्पाकान्[3] पह्लवान् पारदान् शकान्[4] ॥
एतान् जनपदांश्चक्षुः[5] प्लावयन्ती गतोदधिम्[6] ॥

D

दरदांश्च सकाश्मीरान्[7] गान्धारान् औरसान् कुहून्[8] ।
शिवपौरान् इन्द्रमरून्[9] वसातींश्च विसर्जयान्[10] ॥

1. Vy, Bmd, Mts *ad*—अथ चीनमरूंश्चैव; Mts *bc*—अथ वीरमरूंश्चैव. For the Cīna desert, cf. above, p. 25, n. 6; p. 60, n. 6.

2. Vy *ac*, Bmd—तङ्गणान् सर्वमूलिकान्, *cd*—तङ्गणान् सर्वमूलिकान्, *e* (v.l.)—तङ्गणान् सर्वशूलिकान्; Mts *a*—कालिकांश्चैव चूलकान्, *bc*—कालिकांश्चैव शूलिकान्, *d*—कालिकांश्चैव धूलिकान्. For the Taṅgaṇas and Cūlikas, see above, p. 26, notes 4 and 9. The correct reading of the last name may be *Cūlika*. But these Taṅgaṇas appear to have lived near about the Western Himalayas.

3. Vy *ace*—सान्ध्रांस्तुषारांस्तम्पाकान्, *d*—साध्रांस्तुषारांस्तम्पकान् ; Mts *abc*—तुषारान् वर्वराकारान्, *d*—तुखारान् वर्वराकारान् ; Bmd—साध्रांस्तुषारान् लम्पाकान्. For the Tuṣāras or Tukhāras and Lampākas, see above, p. 25, note 6; p. 26, note 3.

4. Vy *a*—पह्लवान् दरदान् शकान्; Bmd, Vy *cde*—पह्लवान् दरदान् शकान्; Mts *abc*—पह्लवान् पारदान् शकान्, *d*—बारवाञ्चतान् (sic. पारदाञ्छकान्). See above, p. 23, n. 9 ; p. 24, n. 4 ; p. 60, n. 7.

5. Vy, Bmd, Mts—एतान् जनपदांश्चक्षुः.

6. Vy *ac* (v. l.) *e*—प्लावयन्ती गतोदधिम्, *cde* (v. l.), Bmd—स्रावयन्ती गतोदधिम् ; Mts—प्लावयित्वोदधिं गता.

7. Vy, Bmd—दरदांश्च सकाश्मीरान् ; Vy *e* (v. l.)—मरदांश्च सकाश्मीरान् ; Mts *abc*—दरदोर्ज्जगुडांश्चैव, d—दरदजिन्दुतुन्दांश्च. See above, p. 25, note 4; p. 26, note 9.

8. Vy, Bmd—गान्धारान् वरपान् ह्रदान् ; Mts *abc*—गान्धारान् औरसान् कुहून्, *d*—गान्धारान् रूरसान्(sic. औरसान्) क्रूरान्. See above, p. 24, note 1: p. 26, note 6. The Kuhus appear to have been the people inhabiting the valley of the Kuhu or Kabul river.

9. Vy, Bmd—शिवपौरान् इन्द्रहासान् ; Mts—शिवपौरान् इन्द्रमरून्. The Śivapauras must have been the inhabitants of Śivapura, i. e. modern Shorkot in the Jhang District of West Pakistan. The other people cannot be identified.

10. Vy —वदातींश्च विसर्जयान् ; Bmd—वसातींश्च विसर्जयान् ; Mts *abc*—वसतीन् समतेजसम् *d*—सबातीन् (sic. वसातीन्)...The Vasātis

सैन्धवान् रन्ध्रकरकान्[1] भ्रमराभीररोमकान्[2] ।
शुनामुखांश्चोर्ध्वमरून्[3] सिन्धुरेतान्निषेवते[4] ॥

E

गन्धर्वान् किन्नरान् यक्षान्[5] रक्षोविद्याधरोरगान्[6] ।

(Ossadioi of the Greeks) appear to have occupied parts of the territory drained by the lower Chenab and situated between the confluence of that river respectively with the Rāvī and the Indus.

1. Vy, Bmd—सैन्धवान् रन्ध्रकरकान् ; Vy *a* (v. l.)—सैन्धवान् रन्ध्रवरकान् ; Mts *abc*—सैन्धवानुर्वसान् वर्वान्, *d*—सैन्धवान् कुवतान् (sic. कुपथान्)... Other names in *Alb. Ind.* are Bahīmarvara, Mara, Mrūṇa and Supurda which are apparently due to mistakes in the Arabic manuscript of Al-Bīrūnī's work consulted by Sachau. For the Saindhavas, see above, p. 24, note 2, and for the variant readings of the other name, p. 24, note 5.

2. Vy—भ्रमराभीररोहकान्, *e* (v. l.)—भ्रमटाभीररोहकान् ; Bmd—भ्रमराभीररोमकान् ; Mts *abc*—कुगयान् भीमरोमकान्. Above, p. 23, note 7 would suggest आभीरान् कालतोयकान्. But the Romakas may be the people of Rumā lying probably near the Salt Range.

3. Vy. Bmd—शुनामुखांश्चोर्द्धमनून् ; Mts *abc*—शुनामुखांश्चोर्द्ध-मरून्.

4. Vy—सिद्धचारणसेवितान्, *c* (v. l.), Mts *abc*, Bmd—सिन्धुरेतान्निषेवते.

5. Vy, Mts, Bmd—गन्धर्वान् किन्नरान् यक्षान्. Al-Bīrūnī explains the Gandharvas as musicians. These names originally indicated certain tribal peoples, although later they came to imply classes of mythical beings. The Kinnaras and Yakṣas were probably names applied to some Himalayan tribes, while Gandharva appears to have been the original name of the people later called Gandhāra (cf. *Rām.*, VII, 101, 11 : तक्षं तक्षशिलायां तु पुष्कलं पुष्कलावते । गन्धर्वदेशे रुचिरे गान्धारविषये च सः ॥ etc.). The names however seem to have been used in the present context in the sense of mythical tribes.

6. Vy, Bmd, Mts—रक्षोविद्याधरोरगान्. Al-Bīrūnī explains the Uragas as those who creep on their breasts, i.e. the serpents.

कलापग्रामकांश्चैव[1] तथा किंपुरुषान् खसान्[2] ॥
किरातांश्च पुलिन्दांश्च[3] कुरून् सभरतानपि[4] ।
पञ्चालकाशिमत्स्यांश्च[5] मगधाङ्गांस्तथैव च[6] ॥

These three names, like those mentioned, above, note 5 (p. 62), originally indicated certain non-Aryan tribal peoples but were later used to indicate mythical tribes. They appear to be used in the present context in the mythical sense.

1. Vy, Bmd, Mts—कलापग्रामकांश्चैव. Al-Bīrūnī explains Kalāpagrāma as the city of the most virtuous people.

2. Vy, Bmd—पारदान् सीगनान् खसान्, *e* (v. l.)—पारदांस्ताङ्गणान् खसान् ; Mts *abc*—तथा किंपुरुषान् नरान्, *d*—तथा किंपुरुषान् खसान्. Al-Bīrūnī explains the Khasas as mountaineers. The name Kimpuruṣa was originally applied to a Himalayan people but was later used to indicate a mythical tribe. The Khasas were a Himalayan tribe now represented by the Khakkas Kashmir. See above p. 36, note 6.

3. Vy, Bmd, Mts—किरातांश्च पुलिन्दांश्च. Al-Bīrūnī explains the Pulindas as hunters of the plains or robbers. For the Kirātas, see above, p. 22, note 1. The Pulindas were an aboriginal people inhabiting the Vindhyan region ; but the name was later applied to Vindhyan mountaineers in general and still later to any aboriginal people. The meaning of *Kirāta*, originally a Himalayan tribe, was also similarly modified. Cf. p. 30, n. 5.

4. Vy, Bmd—कुरून् सभरतानपि ; Mts—कुरून् वै भरतानपि. According to the epic and Puranic traditions, the Kurus and the Bharatas belonged to the same clan. For the Kurus, see above, p. 21, note 2.

5. Vy, Bmd—पञ्चालकाशिमत्स्यांश्च; Mts *a*—पञ्चालकौशिकान् मत्स्यान्, *bc*—पाञ्चालान् कौशिकान् मत्स्यान्, d—पाञ्चालान् कौषकान् मत्स्यान्. See above, p. 21, note 2: p. 22, notes 1 and 2. But *Matsya* may be a mistake for *Vatsa* which was the name of the people inhabiting the Allahabad region.

6. Vy, Bmd, Mts *abc*—मगधाङ्गांस्तथैव च. Mts *d* omits *Aṅga*. See above, p. 27, note 5; p. 29, note 1.

ब्रह्मोत्तरांश्च वङ्गांश्च[1] ताम्रलिप्तांस्तथैव च[2] ।
एतान् जनपदानार्यान्[3] गङ्गा भावयते शुभा[4] ॥
ततः प्रतिहृता विन्ध्ये[5] प्रविष्टा दक्षिणोदधिम्[6] ॥

F

ततश्च ह्लादिनी पुण्या[7] प्राचीनाभिमुखं ययौ[8] ।
प्लावयन्त्युपकानांश्च[9] निषादानपि सर्वशः[10] ॥
धीवरानृषिकांश्चैव[11] तथा नीलमुखानपि[12] ॥

1. Vy, Bmd, Mts *abc*—ब्रह्मोत्तरांश्च वङ्गांश्च. Mts *d* omits *Vaṅga*. See above, p. 27, note 5; p. 28, note 5.

2. Vy, Bmd, Mts—ताम्रलिप्तांस्तथैव च. See above, p. 28, note 8.

3. Vy, Bmd, Mts—एतान् जनपदान् आर्यान्. Cf. the reference here to *ārya* with *mleccha-prāyāṁś = cha sarvaśaḥ* at p. 60, note 2 above.

4. Vy, Bmd—गङ्गा भावयते शुभान् ; Mts, Vy e (v. l.)—गङ्गा भावयते शुभा.

5. Vy, Bmd, Mts—ततः प्रतिहृता विन्ध्ये.

6. Vy, Bmd, Mts—प्रविष्टा दक्षिणोदधिम्.

7. Vy—ततश्चाह्लादिनी पुण्या; Bmd—ततश्च ह्लादिनी पुण्या ; Mts—ततस्तु ह्लादिनी पुण्या.

8. Vy *ac*—प्राचीनाभिमुखं ययौ ; Mts *bc*, Vy *de*—प्राचीनाभिमुखी ययौ; Vy *e* (v. l.), Mts *a*—प्राचीनाभिमुखा ययौ; Bmd—प्राचीमाभिमुखी ययौ.

9. Vy, Bmd—प्लावयन्त्युपभोगांश्च ; Mts *abc*—प्लावयन्त्युपकांश्चैव, *d*—प्लावयन्त्युपकानांश्च.

10. Vy, Bmd—निषादानाञ्च जातयः ; Mts *abc*—निषादानपि सर्वशः, *d*—निषावानपि (sic.) सर्वशः.

11. Vy, Mts *abc*—धीवरानृषिकांश्चैव; Bmd—धीवरानृषकांश्चैव; Mts *d*—धीवरान् प्रिषकांश्चैव.

12. Vy, Bmd, Mts—तथा नीलमुखानपि.

केकरानुष्ट्रकर्णाश्च[1] किरातानपि चैव हि[2] ॥
कालोदरान् विवर्णाश्च[3] कुशिकान् स्वर्गभूमिकान्[4] ।
सा मण्डल समुद्रस्य[5] तिरोभूतानुपूर्वतः[6] ॥

G

ततस्तु पावनी चैव[7] प्राचीमेव दिशं गता[8] ।
कुपथान् प्लावयन्तीह[9] इन्द्रद्युम्नसरांस्यपि[10] ॥

1. Vy, Bmd— केरलानुष्ट्रकर्णाश्च; Vy *e* (v. l.).—केरलानोष्ट्रकर्णाश्च; Mts *abc*—केकरान् एककर्णाश्च, *c* (v. l.) *d*—केकरान् उष्ट्रकर्णाश्च. Al-Bīrūnī explains *Uṣṭrakarṇa* as a people whose lips are turned like their ears possibly through a confusion of the word *uṣṭra* with *oṣṭha*.

2. Vy, Bmd, Mts—किरातानपि चैव हि.

3. Vy, Bmd—कालोदरान् विवर्णाश्च ; Mts *abc*—कालञ्जरान् विवर्णाश्च, *c* (v. l.)—कालिन्दगतिकांश्चैव, *d*—कलोदरान् विवर्णाश्च. Al-Bīrūnī explains *Vivarṇa* as the colourless people so called on account of their intensely dark complexion.

4. Vy, Bmd—कुमारान् स्वर्णभूषितान्; Vy *e* (v. l.)—कुमारीस्वर्णभूषितान् ; Mts *abc*—कुशिकान् स्वर्गभौमकान् *c* (v. l.) *d*—कुशिकान् स्वर्गभूमिकान्, कुशिकान् पर्णभूमिकान्. Al-Bīrūnī explains *Svargabhūmi* as a country resembling paradise.

5. Vy, Bmd, Mts—सा मण्डले समुद्रस्य.

6. Vy, Bmd—तिरोभूतानुपूर्वतः ; Mts *abc*—तीरे भूत्वा तु सर्वशः, *c* (v. l.)—तीरे भूत्वा चतुर्दश.

7. Vy, Bmd, Mts *d*—ततस्तु पावनी चैव; Mts *abc*—ततस्तु नलिनी चापि. Note that there is difference between the extant versions of Mts and those of Vy and Bmd, but that the Mts manuscript consulted by Al-Bīrūnī supports Vy and Bmd. See also above, p. 58, notes 3, 4 and 9.

8. Vy, Bmd—प्राचीमेव दिशं गता; Mts—प्राचीमेव दिशं ययौ.

9. Vy *acde* (v. l.), Bmd—अपथान् भावयन्तीह ; Vy *e*—अपथान् प्लावयन्तीह; Mts—कुपथान् प्लावयन्ती सा. Al-Bīrūnī explains Kupatha as a people who are far from sin. For names ending in *patha* or *mārga*, cf. Siddha-patha (*Rājatar.*, VIII, 557), the old name of the Sidau or Budil pass (14000 ft.) in Kashmir. See also p. 66, note 2 below. Cf. p. 26, note 8; p. 36, note 5; p. 67, note 4.

10. Vy, Bmd—इन्द्रद्युम्नसरोपि च ; Mts—इन्द्रद्युम्नसरांस्यपि. Al-Bīrūnī explains the passage as 'the cisterns of king Indradyumna'.

तथा खरपथांश्चैव[1] वेत्रशंकुपथानपि[2] ।
मध्येनोद्यानकमरून्[3] कुथप्रावरणान् ययौ[4] ॥
इन्द्रद्वीपसमुद्रे तु[5] प्रविष्टा लवणोदधिम्[6] ॥

1. Vy, Bmd—तथा खरपथांश्चैव ; Mts—तथा खरपथान् देशान्. Kharapatha reminds us of Ajapatha and Verāpatha, mentioned in the Buddhist *Niddesa* commentary, the latter also by Ptolemy as Berabai which was not far from Takkola about the present Istmus of Kra (cf. Majumdar, *Suvarṇadvīpa*, I, pp. 56-60; Levi, *Etudes Asiatiques*, II, pp. 1-55). See note 2 below.

2. Vy, Bmd—इन्द्रशंकुपथानपि; Mts—वेत्रशशंकुपथानपि. Śaṅkupatha is mentioned in the *Niddesa* commentary (cf. note 1 above) along with Verāpatha, Jaṇṇupatha, Ajapatha, Meṇḍhapatha, Chatrapatha, Vaṁsapatha, Śakuṇapatha, Muṣikapatha and Darīpatha. Vetrapatha (possibly called Vettādhāra or Vettācāra in the *Niddesa*) is mentioned in connection with Suvarṇabhūmi (the land beyond the eastern sea or the Bay of Bengal) in the *Bṛhatkathāślokasaṁgraha*. These extraordinary routes (passes ?) are also referred to in other early Indian works such as the *Vimānavatthu*, the *Tittira Jātaka*, the *Milindapañha*, Patañjali's comment on Pāṇini, V. 1, 77, and the *Gaṇapāṭha*. It has been suggested that the knowledge of the Far East exhibited by the *Niddesa* did not exist in India before the first century A.D., but that it is earlier than the third century A.D. The *Niddesa* list, with which the Purāṇic section under discussion may be contemporaneous, has been assigned to a date between the end of the first and the beginning of the third century A.D. Incidentally it may be pointed out that the knowledge of the Far East exhibited by the *Mahābhāṣya* points to a late date of the work in its present form as suggested in *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XV, pp. 933ff.

3. Vy, *a*—मध्येनोद्याकमराराान्, *cde* (v. l.), Bmd—मध्येनोद्यानमस्करान् ; Vy *e*—मध्येनोद्यानमकरान् ; Mts *abc*—मध्येनोज्जानकमरून्, *d*—मध्येनोद्यानमरूरान्.

4. Vy, Bmd, Mts *abc*—कुथप्रावरणान् ययौ; Mts *d*—कुशप्रावरणान् ययौ. See above, p. 36, note 7.

5. Vy, Bmd, Mts *a*—इन्द्रद्वीपसमुद्रे तु; Mts *bc*—इन्द्रद्वीपसमीपे तु, *c* (v. l.)—इन्द्रद्वीपसमुद्रान्ते. For the identification of Indradvīpa with Burma, see Cunningham, *Anc. Geog. Ind.*, ed. by Majumdar Sastri, pp. 751-52.

6. Vy, Bmd, Mts—प्रविष्टा लवणोदधिम्.

H

ततश्च नलिनी चागात्[1] प्राचीमाशां जवेन तु[2] ।
तोमरान् भावयन्तीह[3] हंसमार्गान् सहूहुकान्[4] ॥
पूर्वान् देशांश्च सेवन्ती[5] भित्त्वा सा बहुधा गिरीन्[6] ।
कर्णप्रावरणांश्चैव[7] प्राप्य चाश्वमुखानपि[8] ॥
सिक्त्वा पर्वतमरून् सा[9] गत्वा विद्याधरानपि[10] ।
शैमिण्डलकोष्ठे तु[11] प्रविष्टा सा महोदधिम्[12] ॥

1. Vy, Bmd, Mts *d*—ततश्च नलिनी चागात् ; Mts *abc*—ततस्तु पावनी प्रयात्. Note the difference between the two versions; cf. above, p. 65, note 7.

2. Vy, Bmd, Mts—प्राचीमाशां जवेन तु.

3. Vy *acde* (v. l.), Bmd—तोमरान् भावयन्तीह; Vy *e*—तोमरान् प्लावयन्तीह; Mts *abc*—तोमरान् प्लावयन्ती च, *d*—तामरान् प्लावयन्ती च. See above, p. 26, note 8; p. 37, note 2.

4. Vy *acd*—हंसमार्गान् सहूहुकान्, *c* (v. l.), Bmd—हंसमार्गान् बहूदकान् ; Vy *e*—हंसमार्गान् सद्गूहुकान् (sic.); Mts *abc*—हंसमार्गान् समूहकान्, *d*—हंसमार्गान् समूहुकान्. See above, p. 26, note 8; p. 36, note 5.

5. Vy, Bmd, Mts *abc*—पूर्वान् देशांश्च सेवन्ती; Mts *d*—ूर्णान् देशांश्च सेवन्ती.

6. Vy, Bmd, Mts *d*–भित्त्वा सा बहुधा गिरीन्; Mts *abc*—भित्त्वा सा बहुधा गिरिम्.

7. Vy, Bmd—कर्णप्रावरणांश्चैव ; Mts—कर्णप्रावरणान् प्राप्य. Al-Bīrūnī explains *Karṇaprāvaraṇa* as a people whose ears used to fall down on their shoulders. Cf. above, p. 36, note 7.

8. Vy, Bmd —प्राप्य चाश्वमुखानपि ; Mts—गता साश्वमुखानपि. Al-Bīrūnī explains *Aśvamukha* as a people with horse's face.

9. Vy, Bmd—सिक्तापर्वतमरून्; Mts *abc*—सिक्त्वा पर्वतमेरुं सा, *d*—सिक्त्वा पर्वतमरुं सा. Al-Bīrūnī explains *parvata-maru* as mountainous steppes.

10. Vy, Bmd—गत्वा विद्याधरान् ययौ; Mts—गत्वा विद्याधरानपि.

11. Vy—नेमिमण्डलकोष्ठे तु; Bmd—नेमिमण्डलमध्येन; Mts *ac*—शैमिमण्डलकोष्ठं तु, *b*—शौमिमण्डलकोष्ठं तु, *d*—रूमीमण्डलकोष्ठं तु. *Koṣṭhe* may be a mistake for *kacche*. See above, p. 58, note 9.

12. Vy, Bmd, Mts *d*—प्रविष्टा सा महोदधिम्; Mts *abc*—सा प्रविष्टा महत्सरः.

IV
ACCOUNT OF FIFTY-SIX COUNTRIES

There is the manuscript of a small work entitled *Ṣaṭpañcāśaddeśavibhāga* (G. 9660 ; foll. 1B-3B) in the library of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta. While entering it in the *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Collection under the Care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*,[1] Pandit H. P. Sastri remarked that it may 'be part of some Tantra'; but he did not try to find out the Tantra to which it belongs. The *Ṣaṭpañcāśaddeśavibhāga* is, however, actually the seventh Paṭala of Book III of the *Śaktisaṅgama Tantra*. There are four fragmentary manuscripts of this Tantra in the Society's library; but only one of them[2] contains the section in question. A few years ago, Book I (Kālī-khaṇḍa) of the *Śaktisaṅgama Tantra*, edited by B. Bhattacharya, was published in the Gaekwad Oriental Series ; but the remaining Books are still in manuscripts. Bhattacharya, formerly Director of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, kindly sent me, at my request, a copy of the *Śaktisaṅgama Tantra*, Book III, Paṭala vii. His letter to me dated the 2nd April, 1941, reads : "This reading is based on four manuscripts.........We have in our library only one manuscript of the *Śaktisaṅgama Tantra*; but the readings found in it contain omissions and errors which are corrected with the help of other manuscripts. I feel that the accompanying reading is fuller and free from errors as far as the manuscript material permits." In my edition of the *Ṣaṭpañcāśaddeśavibhāga* published here, I have therefore utilised the following three manuscripts :—

A—Manuscript of the *Ṣaṭpañcāśaddeśavibhāga* in the library of the Asiatic Society (No. 9660).

B—Manuscript of the *Śaktisaṅgama Tantra* in the library of the Asiatic Society (No. 323).

C—Copy of the manuscript of the *Śaktisaṅgama Tantra*, Book III, Paṭala vii, kindly supplied by B. Bhattacharya.

1. Vol. IV, 1923, pp. 35f.
2. 323/55E4, foll. 209A-212A.

The *Śaktisaṅgama Tantra*, to which the *Ṣaṭpañcāśaddeśavibhāga* belongs, is a late work that is roughly assignable to the seventeenth century. In his introduction to the *Kālīkhaṇḍa* (Book I of the *Śaktisaṅgama Tantra*), B. Bhattacharya assigns the work to the period between 1555 and 1607 A.D. or roughly to *circa* 1581 A.D.[1] This date is, however, based on the supposition that 'in the *Tantrasāra* by Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgīśa (written sometime after 1577 A.D.),[2] the *Śaktisaṅgama Tantra* is largely quoted'.[3] As a matter of fact, there is not a single quotation from the *Śaktisaṅgama* in the *Tantrasāra*. The *Ṣaṭpañcāśaddeśavibhāga* (verse 11), on the other hand, refers to the inclusion of Ujjayinī in the country of Mahārāṣṭra and this seems to point to the Marāṭhā occupation of Malwa under Bajī Rāo I (1720-40 A.D.). V. 16 again speaks of Karṇāṭa in the sense of 'the Carnatic' and not of the Kannaḍa-speaking country. We know that the successors of Veṅkaṭa II (1630-42) of the Āravīḍu dynasty of Vijayanagara kings, even though they ruled a small tract in the east coast and had little or no authority over the Kannaḍa country, still called themselves 'Lords of Karṇāṭaka'. The verse seems to point to a date when the name Karṇāṭaka had become stereotyped as the designation of a part of the east coast. This was done possibly about the time when Zulfiqār Ali Khān (1692-1703 A.D.) was created the 'Nawab of the Karṇāṭaka' by the Mughal emperor Aurangzīb.[4] If these suggestions are correct, the *Ṣaṭpāñcāśaddeśavibhāga* cannot be assigned to a period earlier than the first quarter of the 18th century. The manuscript of the Tantra, here marked B, contains the date *Śaka* 1674=1752 A.D. when apparently the manuscript was copied. But that the *Śaktisaṅgama Tantra* was composed sometime before 1744 A. D. is indicated by the fact that two of its stanzas are quoted by

1. *Ibid.*, p. vii.

2. As we have shown elsewhere, the *Tantrasāra* was composed in the first half of the seventeenth century. See *The Śākta Pīṭhas*, p. 80. Reference has been made to a manuscript of this work bearing the date 'Saṁvat 1586' (Gode, *Studies*, Vol. I, pp. 154 ff., Poleman, *Census of Indic Manuscripts in U. S. A*, etc.). But *Saṁvat* in this case seems to be a misreading for *Śaka*.

3. Cf. p. vi.

4. See *infra*.

Harikṛiṣṇa Miśra in his *Vaidikavaiṣṇavasadācāra* composed between 1713 and 1744 A.D.[1]

The *Ṣaṭpañcāśaddeśavibhāga* belongs to that class of works which is called the gazetteer literature in Sanskrit and on which Pandit H.P. Sastri wrote an interesting but short paper in *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. IV, pp. 14-25. The work gives an account of fifty-six countries lying in and on the borders of India. The list is drawn from the pilgrim's point of view and most of the localities mentioned are holy places. The majority of the localities are again Śaiva and Śākta Tīrthas and this fact indicates Tantric influence. The importance of the number 56 is, however, not determinable. This number is found adhered to in some other works of the class. The earliest work containing a list of fifty-six countries seems to be the *Candragarbhasūtra* or *Candragabhavaipulya* (translated into Chinese by Narendrayaśas in 566 A.D.)[2] mentioning them in connection with the Buddha's manifestations in Jambudvīpa. All of them cannot be identified; but 'apparently less than half are within India proper'.[3] It has been suggested that the Sūtra was composed or re-edited in Central Asia; it is therefore possible that the importance attached to the number fifty-six is essentially foreign. Similar lists are found in some other medieval Tantric texts; *e.g.*, the *Sammoha Tantra* (composed before 1450 A.D. according to Gode)[4] gives two lists of fifty-six countries. These two lists are quoted below since they can be compared fruitfully with the list of the *Ṣaṭpañcāśaddeśavibhāga* under study.

कादौ षट्पंचाशद्देशाश्च(द्देशा) हादावपि तथा प्रिये ।
तद्देशशक्तिसंयोगस्त(न्तद् Or गात्तद्)राज्यमिति कीर्त्तनम् ॥१
तत्संगमजपेणै(नै)व तद्देशराज्यमाक्रुयात्(?) ।
तत्रादौ कादिदेशाञ्च(श्च) कथ्यते(न्ते) परमेश्वरि ॥२

1. See *Poona Orientalist*, Vol. XXI, 1956, pp. 4 ff.
2. See Bagchi, *Le Canon Bouddhique*, Tome I, p. 270.
3. See Elliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, Vol. III, p. 215; Levi, *B.E.F.E.O.*, Tome V, pp. 261 f.
4. *A.B.O.R.I.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 184f.

अंगवंगौ कलिंगश्च कालिंग(गः) केरलस्तथा ।
काश्मीर(रः) कामरूपश्च महाराष्ट्रोऽथ एव च ॥ ३
सौराष्ट्रो द्रविडश्चैवं(व) तैलिंगमलयाद्र(द्रि)कौ ।
कर्णाटावन्त्यवैदर्भसर्पा(प्ता?)भीर(राः)समालवा(वाः) ॥ ४
चौ(चो)लयां(पां)चालकांबोज(जाः) वैराद्र(ट्)पाम्यां(ण्डौ) विदेहभूः ।
वाह्लीकश्च किरातश्च कैकटा(कर्वटा)वन्तकौ (?) तथा ॥ ५
ऐराकभोटांतचीन(ना) महाचीनस्तथैव च ।
नेपाल(लः) शीलहट्टश्च गौडकोशलमा(म)गधा(धाः) ॥ ६
श्नो(उ)त्कलाः कुंतलहूनाः(णौ) कोंकणः केकयस्तथा ।
शूरसेनः कौरवाश्च सिंहलाश्च पुलिंदका(काः) ॥ ७
कच्छसेवनमद्राश्च सौवीरलाटवर्वराः ।
मत्स्या(त्स्याः) सैंधव इत्येत(ते) षट्पंचाश(शत्) प्रकीर्त्तिता(ताः) ॥ ८

II

कादिदेशाः समाख्याता हादिदेशाः(शान्) शृणु प्रिये ।
अंगवंगकलिंग(गाः)स्यात् कालिंगः स्यात् सु(सौ)वीरक(कः)॥ १
काश्मीरश्चैव काम्बोजा(जाः) सौराष्ट्रो मगधस्तथा ।
महाराष्ट्रो मालवस्तु नेपालः केरलस्तथा ॥ २
चोलयां(पां)चालगौडाश्च मलयांढ(याल)श्च सिंहलः ।
व्योंकविडो व्योन्तश्चैव (?) का(क)र्णाटो लाट एव च ॥ ३
मलाटश्चैव पानाटाः पावाद्यान्धक(?)पुलिन्दकः(काः) ।
हु(हू)णकौरवगान्धारविदर्भाः सविदेहका(काः) ॥ ४
वाह्लीक(को) वर्वरो देवि केकयः कोशलोऽपि च ।
कुन्तलश्च किला(रा)तश्च शूरसेनश्च सेवर(नः)॥ ५
वना टःटंक(ग)णश्चैव कोंकणा मत्स्यमद्रकौ ।
मैड(मरु)सैन्धवसन्धथाः(?) पार्श्वकीकौ(पारसीकस्) ततः स्मृतौ(ताः) ॥६
ड्योजाल(?) यवनौ देवि जल(?)जालन्ध(न्ध्र)साल्वला(काः) ।
सिन्धुश्च वंग्रदेशाश्च हादिपर्यायवाधका(चकाः) ॥ ७[1]

1 Quoted by P. C. Bagchi, *Studies in the Tanras*, pp. 97-99, from a late Newari manuscript in the Durbar Library, Nepal. The text is faulty; but it can be partially corrected with the help of other materials and may also be used in correcting the latter. It is, however, possible that some of the mistakes belong to the original. The *Kādi* and *Hādi* sets of Tantric groupings are given 9 subdivisions each. There is also a fourfold division: 1. *Kerala* extending influence from Aṅga to Mālava, 2. *Kāśmīra* from Madra-desa to Nepāla, 3. *Gauḍa* from Śilahaṭṭa to Saindhava, and 4. *Vilāsa* prevalent everywhere.

The geographical informations derived from the *Saṭṭañcāśaddeśavihāga* are very interesting, and in many cases they throw welcome light on some problems.[1] But the difficulties in dealing with the text are also numerous. The sources of the author's informations are works like the epics, the Purāṇas and the Tantras and above all travellers' or pilgrims' tales. The author might have himself visited some of the places on pilgrimage. The manuscripts he relied on may have misled him in some cases with their wrong readings and many such mistakes may be also due to the copyists of his work.[2] Moreover the author, like many of the Tantric writers of his time, seems to have only an insufficient knowledge of Sanskrit. Partly due to this fact and partly to the inadvertence of the copyists, a great confusion has been created with reference to the actual position of many countries and others bordering on them. As will be indicated below in the notes on the countries, many of these mistakes can be quite easily corrected.[3] It must, however, be admitted that we cannot expect in all cases *accurate* geographical knowledge from our author who had to depend on a pilgrim's knowledge and had no opportunity of consulting any scientifically compiled text on geography or a scientifically prepared map. In some cases therefore, we find that the position of one country given in relation to another is only partially true or even wrong.[4] Owing to the same reason, some countries are given as abutting on each other, though they are actually separated by other countries.[5] The author generally mentions places, usually those sacred to Śiva and Pārvatī, as boundaries of the countries. Some of these places are difficult to identify, and in many cases the name of a god or god dessin a particular temple actually indicates the whole district round the shrine.[2] This difficulty is enhanced by the fact that, while in some cases the boundary mentioned is to be included in the country, in others

1. See notes on verses 3, 21, 39, 46, 49, etc.
2. Cf. verses 5, 43, 47, etc.
3. Cf. verses 19, 23, 47, 48, etc.
4. *E.g.*, verse 18 wherein 'east' seems to be used for 'south-east.'
5. Cf. verses 13, 25, 33, 57, etc.
6. Cf. verses 12, 36, 39, etc.

it is to be excluded from it.[1] In many cases again, more than one country are mentioned in the same area and they overlap one another.[2] In view of the above observations, it will be seen that the *Ṣaṭpañcāśaddeśavibhāga* only attempts a rough estimate of the extents of countries, and sometimes the extents recorded are wider or narrower than they are actually.

The 8th Paṭala of the *Śaktisaṅgama Tantra*, Book III, is also very interesting to the students of early Indian geography. It gives an account of a fivefold division of India. The Chinese authors generally refer to the Five Indies, *viz.*, the Northern, Western, Central, Eastern and Southern, and the *Bhuvanakośa* section of the Purāṇas divide the country into Madhyadeśa, Udīcya, Prācya, Dakṣiṇāpatha and Aparānta, although sometimes the Himalayan and Vindhyan regions are added to them. The *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* of Rājaśekhara also refers to this fivefold division when it speaks of Pūrva-deśa beyond Vārāṇasī, Dakṣiṇāpatha beyond Māhiṣmatī, Paścād-deśa beyond Devasabhā and Uttarāpatha beyond Pṛthūdaka. The five divisions of India as given in the *Śaktisaṅgama Tantra* from the Tantric point of view are different. They are Indra-prastha, Yama-prastha, Varuṇa-prastha, Kūrma-prastha and Deva-prastha. We have appended this interesting section as a supplement to the text of the *Ṣaṭpañcāśaddeśavibhāga*.

षट्पंचाशद्देशविभागः

(*Śaktisaṅgama Tantra*, Book III,
Chapter VII)

ॐ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥[3]

शंकर उवाच ।[4]

रहस्यातिरहस्यं हि[5] प्रोक्तं देवि तवाग्रत: ।[6]
देशव्यवस्था देवेशि कथ्यते शृणु यत्नत:[7] ॥ १

1. Cf. verses 9, 11, 14, etc.
2. Cf. verses 4, 12, 14, 42, etc.
3. Not found in B and C.
4. Not found in B and C.
5. C—च.
6. Not found in A.
7. B—तत्पर:.

वैद्यनाथं समारम्य भुवनेशान्तगं (ग:) शिवे ।
तावदंगाभिधो[1] देशो यात्रायां नहि दुष्यति[2] ॥ २
रत्नाकरं[3] समारम्य ब्रह्मपुत्रान्तगं (ग:) शिवे[4] ।
वंगदेशो मया प्रोक्तः सर्वसिद्धिप्रदायक:[5] ॥ ३
जगन्नाथात् पूर्वभागात्[6] कृष्णातीरान्तगं (ग:) शिवे ।
कलिंगदेशः संप्रोक्तो वाममार्गपरायण:[7] ॥ ४
कलिंगदेशमारम्य पंचाष्टयोजनं शिवे ।
दक्षिणस्यां महेशानि कालिंग: परिकीर्त्तित: ॥ ५
सुब्रह्मण्यं समारम्य यावद्देवो जनार्दन: ।
तावत्केरलदेशः स्यात्तन्मध्ये सिद्धिकेरल:[8] ॥ ६
रामेश्वरो वेंकटेशो[9] हंसकेरलबोधक: ॥ ७
अनन्तशैलमारम्य यावत्स्यादुडुपं पुरम्[10] ।
तावत्सर्वेशनामा तु[11] केरल: परिकीर्त्तित: ॥ ८
शारदामठमारम्य कुंकुमाद्रितटान्तकम्[12] ।
तावत्काश्मीरदेश: स्यात्पंचाशद्योजनान्तक:[13] ॥ ९
कालेश्वरश्वेतगिरिं[14] त्रिपुरान्नीलपर्वतम् ।
कामरूपाभिधो देवि गणेशगिरिमूर्द्धनि ॥ १०
त्र्यंबकं[15] समारम्य मध्ये चोज्जयिनी शिवे ।

1. B—°विधो.
2. C—दुष्यते.
3. A—वज्राकारं; C—वज्राकरं.
4. C—परे.
5. AB—°प्रदर्शक:.
6. Read जगन्नाथपूव.
7. B—राम°.
8. —A सिद्ध°.
9. —A विकुंठेशो; B—वैकंटेशो. Read रामेश्वराद्वेंकटेशं.
10. AB—परे.
11. —सर्वे समानास्तु.
12. B—°माधि°.
13. BC—°न्तकम्
14. B—केरलेश्वरं; C—कोलेश्वरं. Read °श्वराच्छ्वेत°.
15. B C—त्रिपंचकं due possibly to the wrong spelling त्रियंबकं. Better read त्र्यंबकेशं.

मार्जारतीर्थं[1] राजेन्द्रे[2] कोलापुरनिवासिनी ॥
तावद्देशो महाराष्ट्रः कर्णाटस्याभिगोचरः[3] ॥ ११
जगन्नाथादूर्द्ध्वभागे[4] अर्वाक् श्रीभ्रमरांबिका ।
तावदंध्राभिधो देशः सौराष्ट्रं शृणु साम्प्रतम्[5] ॥ १२
कोंकणात्पश्चिमं[6] तीर्त्वा समुद्रप्रान्तगोचरः ।
हिंगुलाजान्तको[7] देवि शतयोजनमाश्रितः[8] ॥
सौराष्ट्रो देशो देवेशि नाम्ना तु गुर्जराभिधः[9] ॥ १३
श्रीशैलन्तु समारभ्य चोलेशान्मध्यभागतः ।
तैलंगदेशो देवेशि ध्यनाध्ययनतत्परः ॥ १४
मूकांबिकां समारभ्य मलयाद्रयन्तगं[10] शिवे ।
मलयालाभिधो[11] देशो मन्त्रसिद्धिप्रवर्त्तकः ॥ १५
रामनाथं समारभ्य श्रीरंगान्तं वरेश्वरि[12] ।
कर्णाटदेशो देवेशि साम्राज्यभोगदायकः[13] ॥ १६
ताम्रपर्णीं समारभ्य[14] शैलार्द्धेरुत्तरार्द्धतः[15] ।
अवन्तीसंज्ञको[16] देशः कालिका तत्र तिष्ठति ॥ १७
भद्रकाली महत्पूर्वं[17] रामदुर्गाच्च[18] पश्चिमे ।
श्रीविदर्भाभिधो देशो वैदर्भी तत्र[19] तिष्ठति ॥ १८

1. B—°तीर.
2. B—राजेन्द्र; C—राजेन्द्रः.
3. B—कपाटस्वाभि°.
4. Read जगन्नाथ ऊर्द्ध्व °.
5. A C—सादरं.
6. A—कौंकणासम्मिंम.
7. C—°न्तकं.
8. B—जन्तुयोजनने शतः; C—जन्तवो जनलेशतः.
9. A—षण्मातुरजराभिधः.
10. B—मनपाडयान्तगं. Read °न्तगः r °न्तकं.
11. A B—मलपाला°.
12. B C—बिलेश्वरि.
13. B—भोम°.
14. B—समासाद्य.
15. B—शैलार्द्धेषूत्तरोर्द्धतः; C—शैलद्धचेत्यत्तरतोर्द्धतः. Read शैलाधर्दु°.
16. Usually अवन्ति.
17. A—मरुत्पूर्वा. Possibly स्थानात्पूर्वं. Read भद्रकालीदक्षपूर्वं. Cf. below, p 76, note 13.
18. A—दुर्गा च.
19. C—वैदभास्तत्र; A—वैदर्भा तत्र.

गुर्जरात्पूर्वभागे[1] तु द्वारकातो हि[2] दक्षिणे ।
मरुदेशो महेशानि उष्ट्रोत्पत्तिपरायणः ॥१९
श्रीकोंकनादधोभागे[3] तापीतः पश्चिमोत्तरे[4] ।
आभीरदेशो देवेशि विंध्यशैले व्यवस्थितः ॥२०
अवन्तीतः पूर्वभागे गोदावर्यास्तथोत्तरे ।
मालवाख्यो महादेशो धनधान्यपरायणः[5] ॥२१
द्राविडतैलंगयोर्मध्ये[6] चोलदेशः प्रकीर्त्तितः ।
लम्बकर्णाश्च ते प्रोक्ता भेदोह्यवान्तरो[7] भवेत् ॥२२
कुरुक्षेत्रात्[8] पश्चिमे तु तथा चोत्तरभागतः[9] ।
इन्द्रप्रस्थान्महेशानि दशत्रियोजनोत्तरम्[10] ।
पाञ्चालदेशो देवेशि सौन्दर्यगर्वभूषितः ॥२३
पाञ्चालदेशमारभ्य म्लेच्छाद्दक्षिणपूर्वतः ।
काम्बोजदेशो देवेशि वाजिराशिपरायणः[11] ॥२४
वैदर्भदेशादूर्द्ध्वं च इन्द्रप्रस्थाच्च दक्षिणे ।
मरुदेशात्पूर्वभागे विराटः परिकीर्त्तितः[12] ॥२५
काम्बोजाद्दक्षभागे[13] तु इन्द्रप्रस्थाच्च[14] पश्चिमे ।
पाण्डुदेशो[15] महेशानि महाशूरत्वकारकः ॥२६

1. Read गुर्जरपूर्वभागात्तु.
2. Read द्वारका यस्य.
3. A—श्रीकौंक°. Read श्रीकोंकणस्त्वधोभागे.
4. A B—पश्चिमे वरे. Read तापी च पश्चिमोत्तरे.
5. A—धनधाम.
6. B—तिलंग. Read तैलंगद्रविडान्तरे. Note that the rules of metre are often disregarded.
7. B—ह्यपरान्तरे.
8. Read °क्षेत्रं.
9. B—°भारतः
10. A—योजनाद्वयः; B—योजनद्वये. Read योजनान्तरम्.
11. Read वाजिराजि.
12. A C—वैराट्देशः प्रकीर्त्तितः.
13. A—भोजा°. Note that the word *dakṣa* is used in our text as well as in many other Tantra works in the sense of *dakṣiṇa*.
14. A B—इन्द्रदेशा°.
15. B—पाण्डयदेशो; C—याम्यदेशो corrected to पाण्डयदेशो.

गंडकीतीरमारभ्य[1] चम्पारण्यान्तकं शिवे ।
विदेहभूः समाख्याता तैरभुक्त्यभिधः[2] स तु ॥२७
काम्बोजदेशमारभ्य महाम्लेच्छात्तु पूर्वके ।
बाह्लीकदेशो[3] देवेशि अश्वोत्पत्तिपरायणः ॥२८
तप्तकुंडं[4] समारभ्य रामक्षेत्रान्तकं शिवे ।
किरातदेशो देवेशि विन्ध्यशैले च तिष्ठति ॥२९
करतोयां समारभ्य हिंगुलाजान्तकं शिवे ।
वक्रान्तदेशो[5] देवेशि महाम्लेच्छपरायणः ॥३०
हिंगुपीठं समारभ्य मक्केशान्तं[6] महेश्वरि ।
खुराशनाभिधो[7] देशो म्लेच्छमार्गपरायणः ॥३१
तन्मध्ये चोत्तरे देवि ऐराकः[8] परिकीर्त्तितः ॥३२
काश्मीरन्तु समारभ्य कामरूपाच्च पश्चिमे ।
भोटान्तदेशो देवेशि मानसेशाच्च दक्षिणे ॥३३
मानशेषा(सेशा)द्दक्षपूर्वे चीनदेशः प्रकीर्त्तितः ॥३४
कैलासगिरिमारभ्य[9] सरयूयोनितः परे ।
आमोंगान्तं[11] महेशानि महाचीनाभिधो[11] भवेत् ॥३५
जटेश्वरं समारभ्य योगिन्यन्तं[12] महेश्वरि ।
नेपालदेशो देवेशि शिलहट्टं शृणु प्रिये ॥३६
गणेश्वरं समारभ्य महोदध्यन्तगं (गः) शिवे ।
शिलाहट्टाभिधो देशो पर्वते तिष्ठति प्रिये ॥३७[13]

1. B—नीर°.
2. B—तिरभुक्ता°. Read °भिधा सा.
3. A—वाहिक; B—वाह्नीक.
4. B C—तप्तत्कुण्डं.
5. B—वभक्तान (बदक्षाणः ?).
6. A—मत्कोशान्तं; B—मत्कशान्तं. Read मक्केशान्तं.
7. B—षुरासना°; C—खुरासना°. A reads मत्कोशान्तं महेश्वरि । after करतोयां समारभ्य and thus omits the stanza referring to Vakrānta-deśa.
8. B—ऐकीरः.
9. B—कैलानरं समारभ्य; C—कैलासतीरमारभ्य.
10. A—आमोरंगं; B—आमारागां.
11. B—चीनाधिपो.
12. B—योगिनिन्तं.
13. Not found in A.

वंगदेशं समारभ्य भुवनेशान्तगं (गः) शिवे[1] ।
गौडदेशः समाख्यातः सर्वविद्याविशारदः ॥३८
गोकर्णेशात्पूर्वभागे[2] आर्यावर्त्तात्तु चोत्तरे ।
तैरभुक्तात्[3] पश्चिमे तु महापुर्याश्च पूर्वतः[4] ।
महाकोशलदेशश्च[5] सूर्यवंशपरायणः ॥३९
कालेश्वरं[6] समारभ्य तप्तकुंडान्तकं शिवे ।
मगधाख्यो[7] महादेशो यात्रायां नहि दुष्यति ।
दक्षोत्तरक्रमेणैव क्रमात्कीकटमा(म)गधौ ॥४०
चरणाद्रिं समारभ्य गृध्रकूटान्तकं[8] शिवे ।
तावत्कीकटदेशः स्यादुत्तारो[9] मा(म)गधो मतः ॥४१
जगन्नाथप्रान्तदेश[10]श्चोत्कलः[11] परिकीर्त्तितः ॥४२
कामगिरिं समारभ्य द्वारकान्तं महेश्वरि ।
श्रीकुन्तलाभिधो देशो हूणं शृणु महेश्वरि ॥४३
कामगिरेर्दक्षभागे मरुदेशात्तथोत्तरे ।
हूणदेशः समाख्यातः शूरास्तत्र वसन्ति हि[12] ॥४४
अथ घट्टं[13] समारभ्य कोटीशस्य तु मध्यगः[14] ।
समुद्रप्रान्तदेशो हि कोंकणः[15] परिकीर्त्तितः ॥४५
ब्रह्मपुत्रात्कामरूपान्मध्यभागे[16] तु कैकयः ॥४६

1. A—भुवनेशं महेश्वरि; B—भुवनेशान्तं महेश्वरि.
2. Read गोकर्णेशाद्दक्षभागे.
3. A—तैर्भुक्तात्.
4. A B—सर्वतः.
5. C—देशः स्यात्.
6. AC—व्यासेश्वरं.
7. B—मघदा°.
8. B C—°न्तगं.
9. A—स्यात्तदूर्द्ध्वः; B—स्यदूर्द्ध वस्तु.
10. B—प्रोतदेश°; C—प्रोक्तदेश
11. C—°श्चौत्कलः.
12. B—च.
13. A—अन्धेरर्द्धं; B—अथत्यदं.
14. B—कोटीशश्च वसकगे; C—मध्यगे.
15. A—कौंकणः.
16. B—°गत.

मगधाद्दक्षभागे[1] तु विन्ध्यात्पश्चिमतः शिवे ।
सौरसेनाभिधो[2] देशः सूर्य(यदु)वंशप्रकाशकः ।।४७
हस्तिनापुरमारम्य कुरुक्षेत्राच्च दक्षिणे ।
पाञ्चालपूर्वभागे तु[3] कुरुदेशः प्रकीर्त्तितः ।।४८
मरुदेशात्पूर्वभागे कामाद्रेर्दक्षिणे शिवे ।
सिंहलाख्यो महादेशः सर्वदेशोत्तमोत्तमः ।।४९
शिलहट्टात्[4] पूर्वभागे कामरूपात्तथोत्तरे ।
पुलिन्ददेशो[5] देवेशि नरनारायणपरः ।।५०
गणेश्वरात्पूर्वभागे समुद्रादुत्तरे शिवे ।
कच्छदेशः समाख्यातः सेवनं[5a] शृणु सादरम् ।।५१
पुलिन्दादुत्तरे भागे कच्छाच्च पश्चिमे शिवे ।
मत्स्यदेशः समाख्यातः मत्स्यबाहुल्यकारकः ।।५२
वैराटपाण्ड्ययोर्मध्ये[6] पूर्वदक्षक्रमेण च ।
मद्रदेशः समाख्यातः माद्रीशास्तत्र[7] तिष्ठति ।।५३
शूरसेनात्[8] पूर्वभागे कण्ठकात्[9] पश्चिमे वरे ।
सौवीरदेशो देवेशि सर्वदेशाधमाधमः[10] ।।५४
अवन्तीतः पश्चिमे तु वैदर्भाद्दक्षिणोत्तरे[11] ।
लाटदेशः समाख्यातो वर्वरं शृणु पार्वति ।।५५
मायापुरं समारम्य सप्तशृंगात्तथोत्तरे ।

1. Read मगधो दक्षपूर्वे.
2. Usually शूर° or शौर°.
3. A—पाञ्चालात्. Read पाञ्चालः पूर्वभागे तु or पाञ्चालपूर्वभागस्तु.
4. A—सिलात् evidently for सिंहलात्.
5. A—पुलिन्ध्र°; B—पुलिन्द्र°.
5a. See below, p. 105 and note 1.
6. Better read पांडुविराटयोर्मध्ये.

A—माद्रीकास्तत्र; C—माद्रीतत्त्वाऽत्र. Read माद्रीशस्तत्र, मद्रेशस्तत्र or मद्रेशी तत्र.

Read शूरसेनः.

9. AB—कण्टकातः. Should we read कण्ठकः ?
10. A—देशः सर्वोत्तमोत्तमः; C—°धमोधमः.
11. Read पश्चिमोत्तरे.

बर्बराख्यो महादेशो सैन्धवं शृणु सादरम् ॥५६
लंकाप्रदेशमारभ्य मक्कान्तं[1] परमेश्वरि ।
सैन्धवाख्यो महादेशः पर्वते तिष्ठति प्रिये ॥५७
एते षट्पंचाशद्देशा मया प्रोक्ता तव प्रिये[2] ।
एतन्मध्येऽपि देवेशि देशभेदास्त्वनेकशः ।
कोटिशः सन्ति देवेशि एते मुख्याः प्रकीर्त्तिताः ॥५८
रहस्यातिरहस्यं च गोप्तव्यं[3] पशुसंकटे ।
इति संक्षेपतः प्रोक्तं किमन्यच्छ्रोतुमिच्छसि ॥५९

SUPPLEMENT[4]

(*Śaktisaṅgama Tantra*, Book III,
Chapter VIII)

श्रीदेव्युवाच ।

देवेश श्रोतुमिच्छामि पंच प्रस्थान[5] साम्प्रतम् ।
इन्द्रप्रस्थं यमप्रस्थं वरुणप्रस्थमेव च ।
कूर्मप्रस्थं महादेव देवप्रस्थं च पञ्चमम् ॥१
[6]इन्द्रप्रस्थं महेशानि शृणु वक्षे[7] यथाक्रमम् ।
इन्द्रप्रस्थं महेशानि योगिनीसंयुतम्[8] ॥२
मथुरागोकुलं पूर्व[9] भागे तस्य व्यवस्थितम् ।
वृन्दावनं कोलदेशे हस्तिनापुरमुत्तरे ॥३

1. A –मच्छान्तं.

2. C–°द्देशान्मया प्रोक्ताद्य भक्तितः. In the place of this stanza, A has a concluding verse which reads as follows after minor corrections :

षट्पंचाशन्मिता देशा मया प्रोक्ता तवानघे ।
तेषां शास्ता भवेद्यो वै चक्रवर्त्ती स उच्यते ॥

3. B–गोप्तकं.
4. From B only.
5. Read प्रस्थानि.
6. Read श्रीभगवानुवाच before this stanza. Better read पंच ऽस्थानि देवेशि in place of इन्द्रप्रस्थं महेशानि.
7. Read वक्ष्ये.
8. Read योगिनीपुरसंयुतम्.
9. Read पूर्वे.

द्वारका पश्चिमायां च गदावर्त्तस्तु दक्षिणे ।
इन्द्रप्रस्थं मध्यभागे कालिकामुखगोचरम् ॥४
द्रावाही[1]क्षेत्रमुद्दिष्टमिन्द्रप्रस्थं तदुच्यते ।
सिंहासनं चाश्वपतेस्तदेव परिकीर्त्तितम् ॥५
यमप्रस्थं महेशानि दक्षिणस्यां व्यवस्थितम् ।
सोमेश्वरः पश्चिमायां सप्तशृंगात्तु पूर्वगाः[2] ॥६
मायापुरं वामभागे व्यंकटेशस्तु दक्षिणे ।
यमप्रस्थं भवेन्मध्ये कमलामुखगोचरम् ॥७
शंखावर्त्तो भवेत्तत्र क्षेत्रं मायाभिधं भवेत् ।
सिंहासनं नरपतेस्तद्दक्षे परिकीर्त्तितः[3] ॥८
ततः पूर्वे जगन्नाथः प्रान्ते कविपति भवेत्[4] ।
वारुणाख्यं तथा देवि कथ्यते शृणु साम्प्रतम् ॥९
मक्केश्वर[5] पश्चिमायामुत्तरे हिंगुला भवेत् ।
त्रैलोक्यविजया देवि दक्षभागे प्रकीर्त्तिता ॥१०
राजावर्त्तस्तत्र भवेत्तत्र शीतामुखं च तत् ।
तदन्ते सागराः सप्त समुद्राश्च तदन्तके ॥११
तावत् श्रीवारुणाख्यन्तु[6] प्रस्थं प्रोक्तं मया तव ।
कूर्मप्रस्थं महेशानि कथ्यते शृणु साम्प्रतम् ॥१२
गोकर्णेश[7] दक्षभागे कामाख्या पूर्वगोचरः[8] ।
उत्तरे मानसेशः स्यात् पश्चिमे सारदा भवेत् ॥१३
त्रिगुणा वर्त्तते तद्धि[9] वज्रेस्यामुखमीरितम्[10] ।

1. The intended reading may be वाराही°.

2. Possibly we have to suggest सप्तशृगन्तु पूर्वके.

3. Read °कीर्त्तितम्.

4. Read °पतिर्भवेत्. *Kavi-pati* may be an error for *kari-pati*, i.e. *gaja-pati*.

5. Read °श्वरः.

6. Read तावच्छ्री°. But the rules of *sandhi* and metre are often disregarded.

7. Read गोकर्णेशो.

8. Read °गोचरा.

9. Possibly त्रिगुणावर्तस्तत्र हि.

10. Possibly वज्रेशी°.

षट्पंचाछचाटि चामुंडागणैर्व्याप्तिन्तु[1] तद्भवेत् ॥१४
पूर्वे वैरजनाथस्तूत्तरेऽमरकण्टकम्[2] ।
कांचीपुरं मध्यभागे मोहनावर्त्ते मे(ए)व च ॥१५
ललिताया मुखं तच्च विद्यागणविभूषितम् ।
कामाख्यात्र समुद्दिष्टं महामन्त्रविभूषितम् ॥१६
नवलक्षमहाविद्या सगणे परिभूषितः[3] ।
पंच प्रस्थानि देवेशि कथितानि मया तव ॥१७

1. Possibly षट्पंचाशद्भिश्चामुण्डागणैर्व्याप्तन्तु.
2. Possibly पूर्वे वैरजनाथस्तु उत्तरे or पूर्वे वै चन्द्रनाथस्तु उत्तरे.
3. Possibly महाविद्याः स्वगणैः परिभूषिताः.

Fifty-six Countries

1. *Aṅga* (v. 2).

Aṅga is said to have extended from Vaidyanātha upto Bhuvaneśa. Vaidyanātha is no doubt the same as Baidyanāth-dhām in the Santal Parganas District, very near the southern frontiers of the Monghyr and Bhagalpur Districts, in Bihār. Bhuvaneśa reminds us of the celebrated Bhubaneswar in the Puri District of Orissa.

The ancient Aṅga country is supposed to have comprised the present Monghyr and Bhagalpur Districts of Bihar excluding the parts lying to the north of the Ganges. Its capital Campā is believed to have been situated at the confluence of the Ganges and the Campā (modern Cāndan) and the two villages Campā-nagar and Campāpur, near Bhāgalpur, are supposed to represent the acutal site of the ancient capital of Aṅga. Epigraphic evidence, however, seems to suggest the location of the ancient city near the Lakhisarai station on the Eastern Railway, in the western fringe of the Monghyr District.[1] There are traditions regarding the expansion of the boundary of the Aṅga country especially in the south. The *Kathāsaritsāgara*,[2] *e.g.*, refers to the Aṅga city called Viṭaṅkapura which was situated on the sea-shore. The commentary on Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* (VI, 6) places Aṅga to the east of the Mahānadī.

It will be seen that Baidyanāthdhām is situated near the southern limits of the original Aṅga country ; but Vaidyanātha may here indicate the district round the holy place, and the reference to Bhubaneswar may point to the country's extension towards the Bay of Bengal. The verse appears to place Aṅga to the south of the Ganges, and it must be admitted that there is no definite evidence indicating the extension of the Aṅga country to the north of that river. According to some manuscripts of the

1. *J.B.R.S.*, Vol. XLI, Part 2, p. 8.
2. 25, 35; 26, 116; 82, 3-16.

Bhaviṣya Purāṇa (see No. 37 below), Vaidyanātha-Mahādeva lay in the Jāṅgala-Jhārīkhaṇḍa country which was situated to the north of the Dārukeśvara river and to the west of the Bhāgīrathī, between Pañcakūṭa (the former Pañcakoṭ State in the Manbhum District) and Kīkaṭa (the Gayā region in South Bihar).

2. *Vaṅga* (v. 3).

The country of Vaṅga is described as extending from the sea as far as the Brahmaputra. The sea is no doubt the Bay of Bengal in the south and Brahmaputra, the northern boundary, seems to indicate that portion of the river which bifurcates from the Jumna. Vaṅga therefore included the eastern part of the Sundarbans in the south and half of the Mymensingh District in the north. The verse seems to exclude the region to the east of the Brahmaputra and the Meghnā (cf. v. 37) and agrees with medieval epigraphic evidence which places the heart of Vaṅga in the Vikramapura-bhāga comprising the Munshiganj and Madaripur Subdivisions of the Dacca and Faridpur Districts of East Pakistan. The original habitat of the Vaṅga people has been discussed in a separate chapter (Ch. XI) below.

3-4. *Kaliṅga* (v. 4) and *Kāliṅga* (v. 5).

Kalınga extended from the east of Jagannātha as far as the banks of the Kṛṣṇā. Jagannātha here evidently refers to the celebrated deity in the shrine of Purī in the Puri District of Orissa. It is interesting to note that the Tantric texts recognise Purī as one of the Pīṭha-sthānas where the Bhairava is Jagannātha and the Bhairavī Vimalā. That the Purī region was also called Utkala is known from v. 42.

The name Kaliṅga has been used here in a wide sense. The *Mahābhārata* (III, 114, 4) recognises the Vaitaraṇī river as the north-eastern boundary of Kaliṅga, and at the time of Aśoka and Khāravela it certainly comprised the Purī-Cuttack region in the east. At the time of the Eastern Gaṅga king Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga, the Kaliṅga kingdom extended from the Ganges to the Godāvarī. The statement in the commentary on the

Kāmasūtra (VI, 6) that Kaliṅga lies to the south of Gauḍa-viṣaya appears to indicate the extension of ancient Kaliṅga as far as the Ganges. The expansion of Kaliṅga from the Mahānadī to the river Kṛṣṇā in the south seems to be referred to in an inscription of the fifth century A.D.[1] The reference in our text may, however, be to the dominions of the Sūryavaṁśī Gajapatis of Orissa. Their empire originally included certain tracts lying to the south of the Kṛṣṇā, though they were later ousted from those areas by the kings of Vijayanagara.

On the southern confines of Kaliṅga was a country called Kāliṅga according to our text. But we do not know of any country of this name to the south of the Kṛṣṇā from any other source. The author probably refers to the Nellore-Guntur region which once formed parts of the dominions of the Sūryavaṁśī Gajapatis of Orissa.

5. *Kerala* including *Siddhikerala* (v. 6).

The Kerala country is said to have extended from Subrahmaṇya upto Janārdana and Siddhikerala to have formed a part of it. Roughly speaking, Kerala comprised the coastal region inhabited by the Malayāḷam-speaking people. But our text makes separate mention not only of two other Keralas called Haṁsa (v. 7) and Sarveśa (v. 8), but also of Malayāla (v. 15).

There are many temples of Subrahmaṇya (Kārttikeya) in South India and it is difficult to determine which of them is meant. The same is the case with Janārdana, as we can trace several Janārdana temples in the area in question. It is, however, possible that Subrahmaṇya here indicates the village of that name in the South Kanara District, which is famous for its temple and cattle fair, and that Janārdana is the temple at Varkala or Varkkalai between Quilon and Trivandrum.

6. *Haṁsa-Kerala* (v. 7).

The territory including Rāmeśvara and Veṅkaṭeśa is called Haṁsa-Kerala, a name otherwise unknown. The shrine of

1. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, p. 114. Some allied topics have been discussed in a separate chapter (Ch. VII).

Rāmeśvara and the celebrated Veṅkaṭeśvara temple at Tirupati are quite well known; but it is difficult to determine whether they are acutally intended. If, however, the verse refers to the country from Rāmeśvara to Tirupati, the name Haṁsa-Kerala would appear to indicate the same territory as the old Drāviḍa.

7. *Sarveśa-Kera'a* (v. 8).

The Kerala country designated by the name Sarveśa extended from the Ananta-śaila upto the city called Uḍupa. The Ananta hill may refer to Trivandrum which is known as Ananta-śayana or Anantapura. It is possible that the place is referred to by Varadarāja (17th century) whose *Saṁskṛtamañjarī* speaks of the southern Tīrthas called Janārdana-kṣetra, Gokarṇa-kṣetra (in the North Kanara District), Anantasena(°śayana ?)-kṣetra, and Subrahmaṇya-kṣetra. Uḍupa-pura is possibly Uḍipi, headquarters of the Uḍipi Taluk in the South Kanara District. The celebrated Vaiṣṇava saint Madhva was born at Kalyāṇapura near Uḍipi.

8. *Kāśmīra* (v. 9).

Kāśmīra(Kashmir) is described as the country lying between the Śāradā-maṭha and the Kuṅkum-ādri and extending over 50 *yojanas*. The Kuṅkuma hill cannot be satisfactorily identified ; but it may refer to the *Kuṅkuma* (saffron)-growing plateau above Pampur near Srinagar, capital of Kashmir.[1] Śāradā-maṭha is evidently modern Sardi near the confluence of the Kishenganga and Kankatori rivers in Kashmir. The shrine of the goddess Sāradā is mentioned in Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (VIII, 2556, 2706). According to Stein, the old shrine is in complete ruins and it is substituted by the late Sāradā temple at Guṣa (ancient Ghoṣa) which is now visited by the pilgrims.[2]

9. *Kāmarūpa* (v. 10).

The country of Kāmarūpa is said to have extended from Kāleśvara to the Śveta-giri and from Tripura to the Nīla-parvata.

1. Cf. Watt, *The Commercial Products of India*, p. 429.
2. See *Rājatar.*, trans., Vol. II, pp. 279, 289.

The 'Blue Mountain' seems to be the Nīl-ādri or Nīlakūṭa, the name of the Kāmakhyā hill according to the *Kālikā Purāṇa* (Ch. 79, v. 74). The Gaṇeśa-giri seems to be referred to as lying in the heart of Kāmarūpa. Tripura can be quite satisfactorily identified with Tripurā (Tipperah) which is now partly in East Pakistan. The heart of ancient Kāmarūpa was the Gauhati region of Assam. The celebrated temple of Kāmākhyā, called the *Yoni-pīṭha*, lies not far from the city of Gauhati. According to Hiuen-tsang, Kāmarūpa lay to the east of the Kāratoyā, while the *Yoginī Tantra* includes in the country the Brahmaputra valley together with Rangpur and Cochbihar.

10. *Mahārāṣṭra* (v. 11).

Mahārāṣṭra (i. e. the Marāṭhī-speaking area) extended from Tryambaka to Karṇāṭa, and comprised Ujjayinī, Mārjāra-tīrtha and Kolāpura-nivāsinī. Tryambaka is certainly the celetrated Tryambakeśvara Śiva-liṅga near Nāsik and here indicates the whole of the Nasik area. Ujjain and Kolhāpur are also well-known localities. Kolāpura-nivāsinī appears to be the goddess Mahālakṣmī of the great shrine at Kolhāpur. As has already been pointed out, the inclusion of Ujjain appears to refer to the Marāṭhā conquest of Malwa during the rule of Peshwā Bājī Rāo I (1720-40 A. D.); and in that case we have to assume that the *Śaktisaṅgama Tantra*, or at least the Deśavibhāga section of it, was composed not earlier than the first quarter of the 18th century. Karṇāṭa of this verse seems to be different from that of v. 16 and to indicate the original Karṇāṭa, i.e. the Kannaḍa-speaking area. It is interesting to note that the *Kāmasūtra* (VI, 5, 29) commentary (middle of the thirteenth century) locates Mahārāṣṭra between the Narmadā and Karṇāṭa.

11. *Andhra* (v. 12).

Andhra is said to have been the country which has Jagannātha above and Bhramarāmbikā below. Jagannātha is the celebrated god of Purī; but here the district round the shrine seems to be indicated. Bhramarāmbikā is no doubt the famous Bhramarāmbā who is one of the 18 Śaktis in India and is enshrined

on the Śrīśaila with the god Mallikārjuna, one of the 12 Jyotirliṅgas. It has to be noted that our author separates Andhra from Tailaṅga (v. 14) and also from Kaliṅga (vv. 4-5).

12. *Saurāṣṭra* or *Gurjara* (v. 13).

From Koṅkaṇa up to Hiṅgulāja in the west lies, according to the verse, the Saurāṣṭra country covering a hundred *yojanas* on the coast. This country has also been called Gurjara. Koṅkaṇa is the strip of land between the Western Ghāṭs and the Arabian Sea, and Hiṅgulāja is the famous Tīrtha of Hiṅglāj near the Arabian Sea (between lat. 25° and 26° and long. 65° and 66°), more than 100 miles to the west of Karachi.

Surāṣṭra originally indicated the southern part of Kathiawar; but in the later period the name Gujarāt is found to be used in a wide sense to comprise the whole of Kathiawar and the adjoining regions. The verse in question gives a wide extent of the country. It must, however, be remembered that from a pilgrim's point of view Gujarāt may be roughly placed between the Northern Koṅkan (comprising the modern Thana District of Bombay State) and the district round Hiṅglāj. Pilgrims seem to have reached Somanātha in Kathiawar by boat from the Northern Koṅkan and then proceeded to Hiṅglāj again by boat.[1]

13. *Tailaṅga* (v. 14).

From the Śrī-śaila up to the middle of the distance between the same and Coleśa lies the Tailaṅga country. Coleśa may indicate the god of the celebrated Bṛhadeśvara temple at Tañjāvūr. Tailaṅga is the same as the name Telengana and is related to *Telugu*. But the origin of this geographical name is unknown. The author's separation of Tailaṅga from Andhra (v. 11) is comparable to that of Kāliṅga from Kaliṅga (vv. 4-5). Really Tailaṅga means the Telugu-speaking area which is the same as Andhra.[2] An inscription[3] of 1358 A. D. gives the following

1. Cf. v. 57.
2. The description does not suit the present Telengana area of Andhra Pradesh.
3. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, p. 90.

boundaries of the Tiliṅga or Tailaṅga country :

पश्चात्पुरस्ताद्यस्य देशौ महाराष्ट्रकलिंगसंज्ञौ ।
अवागुदक् पांड्यककान्यकुब्जौ देशस्स तत्रास्ति तिलिंगनामा ॥

that is, the Telugu country is bounded by Mahārāṣṭra in the west, Kaliṅga in the east, Pāṇḍya in the south and Kānyakubja in the north. There is reference here to the old empire of the Kākatīyas. Of course, in this age, the Kānyakubja country was no longer a political unit; but the reference may be to the empire of the Turkish Sultāns of Delhi.

14. *Malayāla* (v. 15).

The Malayāla country, which is separated from the tracts called Kerala (vv. 6-8), is described as lying between Mūkāmbikā and the Malay-ādri. The Malay-ādri or Malaya range has been identified with the Travancore hills. The goddess is no doubt one of the same name worshipped at Kollūr or Barkalūr in the northern part of the South Kanara District, formerly in Madras but now in Mysore. This goddess is mentioned in inscriptions like C.P. Nos. 3-6A of *A.R.Ep.*, 1927-28, and in stone inscription No.403 of the same year. See also the *Śivatattva-ratnākara*, Kallola V, Ch. I, vv. 27ff.

15. *Karṇāṭa* (v. 16).

The Karṇāṭa country is said to have extended from Rāmanātha upto Śrīraṅga. Śrīraṅga is either Śrīraṅgam opposite Tañjāvūr on the other side of the Kāverī or Śrīraṅgapattana (Seringapatam) near Mysore. Rāmanātha seems to be either the Rāmanāthapuram (former Ramnad) District, or the Rāmanātha Maṭha in the Madurai District, or the Rāmeśvara Tīrtha near the junction of the rivers Tuṅga and Bhadra.[1] The possible reference to Śrīraṅgam or Ramnad as a boundary of Karṇāta suggests that it is not the ancient Karṇāṭa country, the heart of which was in the Kannaḍa-speaking land, *Kannaḍa* being the same as Sanskrit *Karṇāṭa*. With the expansion of the empire of the Kanarese kings of Vijayanagara, the name Karṇāṭa

1. See *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part ii, pp. 377, 397. This was however a very small place which has not yet been identified.

extended over a large part of the Deccan. After the battle of Talikoṭa in 1665 A.D., the Vijayanagara kings withdrew first to Candragiri (Chittoor District) and then to Vellore (North Arcot District). But, as has already been indicated, even when their kingdom became confined to a very small area far away from ancient Karṇāṭa, they were known as the Rāyas of Karṇāṭaka. About the end of the seventeenth century, Zulfiqār Ali Khān (*circa* 1692-1703 A.D.), the progenitor of the Nawābs of Arcot, was created the 'Nawāb of the Carnatic (Karṇāṭaka).' It is not impossible that the verse actually refers to the kingdom of these Nawābs of the Carnatic.

16. *Avanti* (v. 17).

Avanti is described as extending from the Tāmraparṇī as far as the northern side of some hills and as the place of the goddess Kālikā. This Tāmraparṇī is an unknown river and not the celebrated rivulet of that name in the extreme south of India.[1] The hills referred to may be the Western Vindhyas.

Avanti is generally identified with the district round Ujjain (in the former Gwalior State) which was its capital.[2] Kālikā mentioned in the verse is evidently the Śakti of the celebrated Mahākāla of Ujjain.

17. *Vidarbha* (v. 18).

The country of Vidarbha is said to have been situated to the east of Bhadrakālī and to the west of Rāmadurga or with Rāmadurgā to its west. This Bhadrakālī appears to be the same goddess as Kālikā [of Ujjain] mentioned in the preceding verse. Rāmadurga reminds us of the former State of this name in the South Marāṭhā country lying between Belgaum and Bijapur, although it is far from Vidarbha, i.e. modern Berar. The Ujjain region lies to the north or north-west of Berar. Even if we accept an old tradition according to which Avanti included the Māhiṣmatī (modern Māndhātā in the Nimar District or Maheswar in the former Indore State) region on the Narmadā,

1. See above, p. 52, note 5.
2. Cf. Mālava below, No. 20.

it cannot be placed to its west. I have therefore suggested the reading *Bhadrakālī-dakṣapūrve*, 'to the south-east of Bhadrakālī'.

18. *Maru* (v. 19).

The Maru country seems to be described as lying to the north-west of the Gujarāt region and to the north of Dvārakā and also as famous for its camels. It is the great Indian desert called the Thar or Rājputānā desert. The land no doubt also includes the Mārwār (i.e. Maru) or Jodhpur area.

19. *Ābhīra* (v. 20).

The Ābhīra country appears to be placed on the Vindhya between the Koṅkaṇa in the south and the Tāpī or Tāptī in the north-west.

The Ābhīras originally lived in the desert ; but they gradually pushed towards the south.[1] In the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D., Aberia or the Ābhīra country lay not far from Surāṣṭra or Southern Kathiawar. In the 3rd century A.D., the Ābhīras founded a kingdom comprising parts of the Northern Koṅkan and the Nāsik region. But it is difficult to believe that this area was called Ābhīra in the late medieval period. The reference seems to be to the Ahirwas fort in the former Indore State, lying at lat. 22° 31′, long. 76° 31′. But, in that case, we have to read *śrī-Koṅkaṇāt purva-bhāge*, since the area in question does not lie to the south of the Koṅkaṇ. The *Kāmasūtra* (VI, 4, 24) commentary applies the name Ābhīra to the tracts including Śrīkaṇṭha (Thanesar) and Kuru-kṣetra.

20. *Mālava* (v. 21)

The great country of Mālava is described as lying to the east of Avanti and to the north of the Godāvarī. The verse evidently indicates Eastern Malwa, the ancient name of which was Ākara or Daśārṇa having its capital at Vidiśā (modern Besnagar near Bhilsa in the former Gwalior State). It has to be noticed that the *Kāmasūtra* (VI, 5, 22 and 24) mentions Avanti and Mālava separately and its commentary identifies Mālava with Pūrva-Mālava and gives the name Avanti to the Ujjain region. Bāṇa's

1. See *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 221 ff.

Kādambarī supports the same tradition when it associates Mālava ladies with the Vetravatī (modern Betwa) surrounding Vidiśā and speaks of Ujjayinī as a city of the Avanti country in the present West Malwa.[1]

21. *Cola* (v. 22).

The Cola country is said to have been situated between Drāviḍa and Tailaṅga (v. 14), and the three countries, which were very similar to one another, were also known generally as the [land of the] Lambakarṇas.

The Cola country proper was the Tañjāvūr-Tiruciräppalli region. The verse, however, appears to refer to the country of the Telugu Coḍas of the Anantapur-Cuddappa area.

22. *Pāñcāla* (v. 23).

Pāñcāla appears to have been described as lying at 13 or 30 *yojanas* from Indraprastha with Kuru-kṣetra both in the west and the north. Indraprastha is the modern Delhi region and Kuru-kṣetra was the country to the south of the Sarasvatī and to the north of the Dṛṣadvatī, in the Karnal-Ambala region of the Eastern Punjab.

Ancient Pāñcāla was divided into two divisions, viz., the northern and the southern, and the former comprised roughly the modern Rohilkhand Division of U. P. Ahicchatrā, capital of North Pāñcāla, has been identified with modern Rāmnagar in the Bareily District, while Kāmpilya, which was the capital of South Pāñcāla, has been located at modern Kāmpil in the Farrukhabad District to the south of the Ganges.

23. *Kāmboja* (v. 24).

The Kāmboja country is described as extending from Pāñcāla and lying to the south-east of the Mleccha country. This Mleccha is apparently the same as Mahā-Mleccha of v. 28 and indicates the Muslim countries on the north-western borders of medieval India.[2]

1. Cf. Siddhāntavāgīśa's ed., pp. 19, 183.
2. Cf. Nos. 25 and 27 below.

The ancient Kāmbojas may be supposed to have lived in various settlements in the wide area between the Punjab and Balkh (cf. No. 27). From a pilgrim's standpoint therefore the country may have been described as having Pāñcāla in the south-east and the Muhammadan countries in the north-west. The horses of the Kāmboja country are often found mentioned in literature and inscriptions. The Kāmbojas living in Aśoka's empire are mentioned in his inscriptions along with the Yavanas or Greeks of the Kabul valley and Kandahar where an edict in two versions meant for these two peoples has been discovered.

24. *Virāṭa* (v. 25).

The country called Virāṭa or Vairāṭa is placed to the north of Vidarbha, to the south of Indraprastha and to the east of Maru-deśa.

Of course Vidarbha is far to the south ; but the ancient Virāṭa or Matsya country actually lay in the Alwar-Bharatpur-Jaipur region to the south of the Delhi area and to the east of the desert. Vidarbha was never its southern boundary ; but it may have been mentioned as a country lying in the south—whatever be the distance—of the Virāṭa country. One of the Śākta Pīṭhas is said to be in Virāṭa where the Devī is Ambikā and the Bhairava Amṛta. There was a Virāṭa country in Northern Bengal, according to some manuscripts of the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*.[1] The Nivṛti country (comprising Vardhanakūṭa=Bardhankoṭ, Kacchapa=Cochbihār or, more probably, Kachhar, and Rangpur) has there been described as :

निवृतिः सा च यत्रैव जनिष्यति तृणादिकम् ।
वरेन्द्रोत्तरभागे च विराटस्य च सन्निधौ ।
वंगस्य पश्चिमोत्तरे निवृतिर्विषयो मतः ॥

This Virāṭa is apparently connected with the 'Birāṭ-rājār Gaṛh' in the Rangpur District, or Bairāṭṭā in the Dinajpur District, in the northern part of Bengal and has nothing to do with the country of the same name mentioned in our text.

1. See No. 37 below.

25. *Pāṇḍu* (v. 26).

The Pāṇḍu or Pāṇḍya country is placed to the south of Kāmboja and to the west of Indraprastha or the Delhi region.

It is interesting to note that there is evidence of the existence of an ancient Pāṇḍu country in the Punjab. Ptolemy's Geography[1] places the country of Pandouoi (i.e. Pāṇḍava) about the Bidaspes=Vitastā=Jhelam and includes in it Sagala=Sākala=Siālkot. Poros (i. e. Puru or Paurava), contemporary of Alexander, evidently belonged to this Pāṇḍu country. The *Vedic Index* suggests that either the Jhelam region was the early home of the Purus where some remained while others migrated to the east, or that region was later conquered by the Purus who had been settled in the east. But it is difficult to determine how this ancient tradition finds an echo in the late medieval text before us.

26. *Videha* or *Tairabhukti* (v. 27).

The Videha country, also called Tīrabhukta or Tairabhukti, is described as extending from the banks of the Gaṇḍakī as far as the Camp-āraṇya. Gaṇḍakī-tīra here appears to indicate the southern boundary of the country and the place where the modern Gaṇḍak falls into the Ganges. Camp-āraṇya is the modern Campāraṇ which seems to be the northern boundary. The name Tīrabhukti still survives in the modern form *Tīrhut.* It is the same as the Darbhanga-Muzaffarpur region of Upper Bihar to the north of the Ganges.

27. *Bāhlīka* (v. 28).

The Bāhlīka country is said to be bordering on Kāmboja and situated to the east of Mahā-Mleccha. Bāhlīka was Bactria (modern Balkh) in the north of Afghanistān ; but Vāhīka was an old name of the Punjab. The reading Bāhlīka is better as the country is placed between Kāmboja and the great Mleccha world of the west. It is interesting to note that the Kāmbojas, elsewhere associated with Pāñcāla (v. 24), are here connected with the northern part of Afghanistān.

1. VII, i, 46.

28. *Kirāta* (v. 29).

The Kirāta country is described as extending from Tapta-kuṇḍa as far as Rāma-kṣetra and as lying on the Vindhyas. Tapta-kuṇḍa may indicate the hot springs at Rājgir in the Patna District, Bihar, or those near Monghyr. Rāma-kṣetra may be Rāma-giri or Rāmtek. Kirāta here seems to indicate some Vindhyan hill tribes, though in old literature they are usually connected with the Himalayan region. The fact is that such names as Pulinda and Kirāta really indicated particular hill tribes; but later their meaning expanded so as to signify any hill tribe.

29. *Vakrānta* (v. 30).

The Vakrānta country is said to have extended from the Karatoyā as far as Hiṅgulāja and abounded in a large number of Mlecchas. The Karatoyā river mentioned here is not easy to identify ; but the reference to the Hiṅglāj area as one of the bordering regions suggests that Vakrānta-deśa is possibly not Wakhan, but very probably Makran between Baluchistan and Persia. Pargiter[1] notices three Karatoyās ; the first a tributary of the Brahmaputra in North Bengal, the second belonging to the Himalayan region in North India and the third rising from the Vindhyan range. The second seems to be indicated in the verse ; but the plurality of the name may have been caused by wrong readings.

30. *Khurāśana* (v. 31).

The country called Khurāśana (Khorashan) is described as extending from the Hiṅgu-pīṭha, i.e. Hiṅgulāja, upto Makkeśa. Makkeśa, 'lord of Mecca,' is an imaginary Śiva-liṅga at Mecca, the most sacred of the Muslim holy places. According to a popular Bengali tradition, apparently influenced by the Tantras, in an underground room underneath the floor of the Kaaba at Mecca there lies Śiva in deep sleep; pious Hindus are never allowed to approach him; if, however, a devout Hindu could place on his

1. *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, trans., p. 301.

head a *bilva-patra* only once, the god would at once rise up and destroy all the Muhammadans of the world.

Khorashan is the north-eastern province of Persia, to the west of Afghanistān ; but the name here seems to be employed to indicate the kingdom of Persia as known in the late medieval period.

31. *Airāka* (v 31).

In the northern part of the country of Khurāśana, i.e. the Persian kingdom or Western Asia, is placed Airāka, i.e. Iraq.

32. *Bhoṭānta* (v. 33).

The Bhoṭānta country is said to have extended from Kāśmīra and lay to the west of Kāmarūpa and to the south of Mānaseśa. Bhoṭānta is evidently Bhoṭān and Mānaseśa refers to the god Śiva at the Mānasa lake (Mānsarovar) in the Himalayas. Modern Bhoṭān in a small state to the north of Bengal ; but the Tibetan people are also known as Bhauṭṭa or Bhoṭa. Taken in this wider sense, Bhoṭānta may actually be placed between Kāśmīra in the west and Kāmarūpa in the east.

33. *Cīna* (v. 34).

Cīna-deśa is described as lying to the south-east of Mānaseśa. The country to the south-east of the Mānasa-sarovara is Tibet which appears to be indicated by the name Cīna in the verse. Tibet formed a part of the dominions of the Chinese emperors. Abul Fazl's *Ain-i-Akbarī* refers to 'Pegu which former writers called Cheen, accounting this to be the capital city', and seems to include Burma in the Cīna country.[1] According to Pargiter, Cīna comprised the country of Tibet 'along the whole range of the Himalayas'.[2] The Cīnas are sometimes linked in the *Mahābhārata* with the Kāmbojas of the north-west[3] and often mentioned among the retinue of the king of Prāgjyotiṣa or Assam in

1. Jarrett's trans., Vol. II, ed. Sarkar, p. 132.
2. *Mārk. Pur.*, trans., p. 319, note.
3. VI, 9, 66.

the east[1] and are also sometimes placed near the source of the Ganges in the country lying midway between the two regions.[2]

34. *Mahā-Cīna* (v. 35)

The Mahācīna country is said to have extended from the Kailāsa-giri and from the place of origin of the Sarayū as far as Moṅga. Mount Kailāsa is that part of the Himalayan range which lies to the north of the Mānasa-sarovara and the origin of the Sarayū (Ghogra) is not far off. Moṅga and its variations appear to refer to Mongolia to the north of China. Mahācīna therefore refers to China proper.[3] The suggestion is supported by the fact that in the seventh century A.D. the Chinese traveller Hiuen-tsang described his native country as 'the Mahācīna of the Indians'.[4]

35. *Nepāla* (v. 35).

The country of Nepāla is placed between Jaṭeśvara and Yoginī which seems to refer to Yoginīpura or Delhi. The Nepāla country to the north of Bihār and U.P. is well-known ; but Jaṭeśvara cannot be satisfactorily identified. It is possible that the original reading was Jalpeśvara, the famous Śiva of the Jalpaiguri District in North Bengal, sometimes referred to in the later Puranic literature.

36. *Śilahaṭṭa* (v. 36).

The country called Śilahaṭṭa is described as extending from Gaṇeśvara as far as the sea. Gaṇeśvara appears to be identical with Gaṇeśa-giri placed in the heart of the country of Kāmarūpa (v. 10). Śilahaṭṭa is no doubt modern Sylhet which however does not now extend up to the Bay of Bengal. The land lying to the east of the Meghna in South-East Bengal (now mostly in East Pakistan) seems to be included in Śilahaṭṭa.

1. V, 19, 15.
2. III, 177, 12.
3. For Cīna and Mahācīna, see Hobson-Jobson, s.v. *China* and *Machīn*. The evidence of our text is supported by the *Āin-i-Akbari*, trans. Jarrell and Sarkar, Vol. II, p. 131.
4. Cf. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. I, p. 349.

37. *Gauḍa* (v. 38).

Gauḍa is said to have extended from the Vaṅga country upto Bhuvaneśa (i.e. Bhubaneswar in Orissa). In modern times, Gauḍa implies the whole area inhabited by the Bengali-speaking people. Originally, however, the country seems to have comprised the present Murshidabad District with the exclusion of its southernmost part. The Chinese traveller Hiuen-tsang describes Karṇasuvarṇa as the name of both the kingdom and capital of Śaśāṅka who has been called 'the lord of Gauḍa' in the *Harṣacarita*. According to the Chinese pilgrim, the Raktamṛttikā-vihāra lay in the suburbs of the Karṇasuvarṇa city and the country was about 730 or 750 miles in circuit. As the monastery referred to has been located at modern Rāṅgāmāṭi (Sanskrit *Rakta-mṛttikā*), the identification of the Karṇa-suvarṇa or Gauḍa country with the Murshidabad District is plausible. This identification is again supported by an interpolated section of the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*,[1] which says :

पुण्ड्रदेशे सप्तदेशास्तेषां नामानि वै शृणु ।
गौडो वरेन्द्रो निवृतिः सुह्मदेशः प्रकीर्त्तितः ॥
जांगलो झारिखंडश्च वराहभूमिरेव च ।
वर्द्धमानो विंध्यपार्श्वे सप्तैते परिकीर्त्तिताः ॥
पद्मानद्या दक्षभागे वर्द्धमानस्य चोत्तरे ।
गौडदेशः स विज्ञेयो गौडेशी यत्र तिष्ठति ॥

It is said that Gauḍa (comprising Navadvīpa, Śāntipura, Maulapattana and Kaṇṭakapattana) lies between the river Padmā and the Vardhamāna district and forms a part of Puṇḍra, a name here used to indicate Bengal without its south-eastern part, but with some parts of Bihār and Orissa. The southern part of the Malda District comprising the site of the city of Gauḍa (Gauṛ) seems to have been to the south of the Ganges and included in the Gauḍa country in the early medieval period, and the capitals of some of the Pāla and Sena kings in Gauḍa were situated near the modern site of Gauṛ. Our work divides Bengal in two broad divisions, viz. East Bengal (Vaṅga) and West Bengal

1. MS. No. 3582 of the Asiatic Society, Culcutta.

(Gauḍa). It is interesting in this connection to note that Mulsim historians sometimes called this country 'Gaur-Bangāl.' Gauḍa offers one of the numerous instances of the expansion of the connotation of a geographical term.[1]

38. *Mahā-Kośala* (v. 38).

The Mahā-Kośala country is placed to the south of Gokarṇeśa, to the north of Āryāvarta, to the west of Tairabhukti and to the east of Mahāpurī. Gokarṇa is the name of a village on the Bāgamatī in Nepāl. Āryāvartta is not the same as that (=North India) defined by Manu, but the Tantric Āryāvartta defined as

विन्ध्योत्तरगतेनैव मगधाञ्चापरेण तु ।
हिमाद्रेर्दक्षिणे भागे पाञ्चालात्पूर्वतस्तथा ॥
आर्यावर्त्त इति ख्यातः............[2]

Mahāpurī appears to refer to Delhi which was the capital of the Mughal emperors at the time of the composition of the work to which the verse belongs. Mahā-Kośala is no doubt the same as old Kośala ruled by the Sūrya-vaṁśī kings from their capital at Ayodhyā, near modern Fyzābād in Oudh (Ayodhyā). The name Mahā-Kośala thus appears to be wrongly applied now to indicate South Kośala, *i.e.* the Raipur-Sambalpur-Bilaspur region in Madhya Pradesh and Orissa.[3] If we prefer the reading *sarvataḥ* to *pūrvataḥ*, Mahāpurī would possibly indicate Ayodhyā, the ancient capital of the Kośala *janapada*.

39. *Magadha* (v. 39).

The great country of Magadha is described as extending from Kāleśvara or Vyāseśvara as far as the Tapta-kuṇḍa. Kāleśvara is evidently the celebrated Kāla-Bhairava of Banāras and Vyāseśvara reminds us of Vyāsa-Kāśī. Tapta-kuṇḍa seems to refer to the hot springs (*e.g.*, Sītākuṇḍa) near Monghyr. The Magadha *deśa* is therefore placed between the Benares region and the Monghyr District. The ancient Magadha country comprised the present Patna and Gaya Districts of South Bihar

1. Cf. Chapter V below.
2. Bagchi, *Studies in the Tantras*, p. 108.
3. See Pargiter, *Mārk. Pur.*, trans., pp. 308, 342.

and had its capital originally at Rājagṛha(Rājgir) and then at Pāṭaliputra (near Pāṭnā), both in the present Patna District.

40. *Kīkaṭa* (v. 40).

The Kīkaṭa country is placed in the southern part of Magadha, the northern half of which is called Magadha proper. Kīkaṭa is described as extending from the Caraṇ-ādri upto Gṛidhrakūṭa. The celebrated Gṛdhrakūṭa or 'Vulture Peak' (modern Śaila-giri) was situated near Rājagṛha, modern Rājgir in the Patna District. Caraṇ-ādri appears to indicate either the Viṣṇupada hill at Gayā, or Chūnār. In the Purāṇic literature, Kīkaṭa is essentially connected with the Gayā region. But the traditional indentifications of Kīkaṭa with Gayā-pradeśa and with Magadha appear to be both right. The verse under study indicates that originally the Gayā region was called Kīkaṭa and the Pāṭnā region Magadha ; but soon the former became a part of the latter.

41. *Utkala* (v. 41).

The country which had Jagannātha (the god in the shrine at Purī on the sea) on the boundary is described as Utkala. The original connotation of the name and its later expansion have been discussed in the separate chapter below, pp. 134 ff.

42. *Śrīkuntala* (v. 43).

The country called Śrīkuntala is placed between the Kāma-giri and Dvārakā. V. 44 shows that the Kāma-giri was far to the north of the desert. In this connection, it is interesting to note that an inscription of 1176 A.D.[1] represents a ruler of the Kāma country as a tributary to the king of the Sapādalakṣa Mountain (i.e. the Siwalik range). It is also not impossible that the name Kāma has something to do with that of Kumaon. The Śrīkuntala country thus appears to be placed between the Siwalik-Kumaon region in the north and Dvārakā in the south. Śrīkuntala is, however, otherwise unknown and the well-known Kuntala lies in the Kanarese area. Is Śrīkuntala a mistake

1. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 342.

for Śrīkaṇṭhaka or the Thānesar region? The wide extent of the Śrīkaṇṭha country can, however, only be accepted if we refer to the time of Harṣavardhana (606-47 A.D.), king of Thānesar and Kanauj.

Pargiter[1] notices three Kuntalas, one in the Deccan, the second near Chūnār to the south of Banāras and the third 'in the west'. This third Kuntala may be indicated in the verse. It is, however, probable that this plurality of Kuntala as accepted by Pargiter is due to wrong readings which might have misled even the author of the verse in question.

43. *Hūṇa* (v. 44)

Hūṇa-deśa is placed to the south of the Kāma-giri (see No. 42) and to the north of Maru-deśa, i.e. the Desert, and is called the land of heroes. The Hūṇas had a place in Indian politics even long after the disintegration of the extensive empire of Toramāṇa and Mihirakula. The *Harṣacarita* places the Hūṇa country in the Punjab region practically suggesting the same area as the verse under study. Hūṇa royal houses are mentioned in the records of the Pratihāras, Kalacuris and others. The Hūṇas are ultimately known to have been regarded as one of the 36 clans of the Rajputs.

44. *Koṅkaṇa* (v. 45).

Koṅkaṇa has been described as lying on the sea-coast. It seems to have extended from the Ghaṭṭa as far as the middle of the district round Koṭīśa. The Koṅkaṇ, as we know, is the strip of land between the Western Ghāṭs and the Arabian Sea. Ghaṭṭa therefore appears to indicate the Western Ghāṭs, while Koṭīśa reminds us of the famous Koṭeśvara Mahādeva near the sea, not far from Bhuj, the headquarters of Kutch. But this Koṭeśvara is far away from the Koṅkaṇ. Our Koṭīśa may be the same as Saptakoṭīśvara of the inscriptions, and coins of the Kadambas of Goa.[2]

2. *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, trans., p. 308.

2. See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 288 ff. Moraes, *Kadamba Kula*, pp. 383-84.

45. *Kaikaya* (v. 46).

Kaikaya is placed between the Brahmaputra and Kāmarūpa. The ancient Kekaya country lay in the Punjab to the east of Gandhāra (the Peshawar-Rāwalpindi region). But a Kekaya kingdom is known to have existed in the northern part of Mysore in the fifth century A.D.[1] The Kaikaya country mentioned in our verse seems to be a place in North-East Bengal, which was possibly connected by local traditions with the ancient Kekayas of the Punjab. Kaikaya here may even indicate the land of the Kukis in Assam and Maṇipur. It this identification is accepted, it shows how such tribal names were given a classical colour in the late medieval works.

46. *Śaurasena* (v. 47).

The Śaurasena country seems to be described as extending from Magadha in the south-east upto the territory to the west of the Vindhya. The ancient Śūrasena people lived in the Mathurā region. Greek writers refer to the Sourasenoi and to their cities Methora (Mathurā) and Kleisobora (possibly Kṛṣṇapura = Gokula). This old Śūrasena or Śaurasena country therefore had nothing to do with Magadha, the ancient name of South Bihār. It must, however, be remembered that our author extends Magadha as far as the Banāras district in the west. He possibly believed that the Śaurasena country extended from the Banāras region up to the Mathurā district which is to the west (actually to the north-west) of the Vindhyan range. It may also be suggested that the text requires emendation and that the intention was to say 'to the north of the Vindhya.' It is interesting to note in this connection that the *Kāmasūtra* (VI, 9, 28) commentary locates Śaurasena *Kauśāmbyāḥ dakṣiṇataḥ* (sic. *paścimataḥ*) *kūle* [*Yamunāyāḥ*].

47. *Kuru* (v. 48).

The Kuru country appears to be described as extending from the Hastināpura region and as lying to the south of the Kurukṣetra tract, with Pāñcāla lying in the east. Hastināpura, capital

1. See *Suc. Sāt.*, pp. 313 ff.

of the Kuru country, has been identified with a locality in the Meerut District, U. P. According to the *Mahābhārata*,[1]

दक्षिणेन सरस्वत्या दृषद्वत्युत्तरेण च ।
ये वसन्ति कुरुक्षेत्रे ते वसन्ति त्रिविष्टपे ॥

that is to say, the land called Kuru-kṣetra lay between the rivers Sarasvatī and Dṛṣadvatī in the Eastern Punjab. This land has been called Brahmāvarta in the *Manusmṛti*.[2] The verse placing the Kuru country practically between Kuru-kṣetra on the Dṛṣadvatī and Pāñcāla says nothing against the epic tradition.

48. *Siṁhala* (v. 49).

The great country called Siṁhala, the best of all countries, is placed to the east of Maru-deśa and to the south of the Kām-ādri. This Siṁhala cannot be identified with Ceylon. It is evidently in the Punjab-Rajasthan region and reminds us of the kingdom of Siṁhapura mentioned by Hiuen-tsang. The capital of this kingdom has been identified with Khetas or Katas in the Jhelum District, which is, next to Jvālāmukhī, the most frequented place of pilgrimage in the Punjab. Tantric literature locates Sambhala (probably, Siṁhala) and Laṅkāpurī in the Swat-Kashmir region.[3]

49. *Pulinda* (v. 50).

The country of Pulinda is placed to the east of Śilahaṭṭa and possibly to the south of Kāmarūpa. The text reads 'to the north of Kāmarūpa' ; but no locality to the north of Kāmarūpa, the heart of which was the Gauhati region in Assam, could have anything to do with Śilahaṭṭa, i.e. modern Sylhet. The Pulindas were a hill tribe usually connected with the Vindhyan range. Pargiter[4] notices several branches of the Pulinda tribe, viz. (1) a western branch, (2) a Himalayan branch related to the Kirātas and the Taṅganas, and (3) a southern branch.

1. III, 83, 4 and 205.
2. II, 17.
3. Bagchi, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-40.
4. *Mārkaṇḍya Purāṇa*, trans., pp. 316, 335, 338.

The second branch may be intended here, though the plurality of the name may be due either to misreadings in the manuscripts or to the fact that the term was sometimes used to indicate *any* hill tribe. Pulinda of our text may possibly refer to tribes of the hills of Assam, but more probably to the land of the Paliyās or Rājbaṁśīs of North Bengal.

50. *Kaccha* (v. 51).

The Kaccha country is placed to the east of Gaṇeśvara and to the north of the sea, and is possibly also called Sevana. If Gaṇeśvara is the same as Gaṇeśa-giri in the heart of Kāmarūpa, Kaccha may be identified with Kacchapa (possibly Kacchar Cochbihār) placed by the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* in the north-eastern region of Vaṅga.[1] But the expression 'to the north of the sea' seems to indicate Kutch. The identification of Kaccha and Sevana, possibly suggested in the verse, offers another difficulty. Sevana, i.e. Seuna-deśa, was the name of modern Khandesh. It indicated the kingdom of the Yādavas who had their capital first at Sinnar near Nasik and then at Devagiri, modern Daulatābād in the Aurangabad District of the former Hyderabad State. The Seuna country may therefore have been the Nasik-Daulatabad region or even the vast kingdom conquered by the powerful kings of the Yādava dynasty. But it is doubtful if the memory of the Yādava age lingered down to the late medieval period. Kaccha may possibly also indicate the district round Bhṛgu-kaccha, modern Broach near the mouth of the Narmadā. The meaning of the word *kaccha* appears to be 'a region on the sea-coast,' and it is possible that different *Kacchas* (including Kutch and Kacchapa), referred to above, have been confused in the verse. As to Kacchapa, a medieval tradition refers to the expansion of the Eastern Sea (Bay of Bengal) in the heart of Bengal as far north as Devīkoṭṭa or Bāṇgaṛh in the Dinajpur District, now in East Pakistan.[2] Long ago the sea no doubt touched the central areas of Bengal at least through the mouths of the big rivers falling in it. But the medieval tradition referred

1. See No. 24; cf. No. 37.
2. Cf. *I.H.Q.* Vol. XVII, p. 471.

to above is no doubt due to the existence of big lakes called *bils*, like the Chalan, in the Rajshahi-Bogra-Mymensing area.

The language of the verse may suggest that Sevana was different from Kaccha, the discription of the former having been omitted through oversight. But in that case, the number of countries would be more than fifty-six.[1]

51. *Matsya* (v. 52).

The Matsya country is placed to the north of Pulinda and to the east of Kaccha. This country is described as abounding in fish. If Pulinda of this verse is the same as that in verse 50, and Kaccha is the same as Kacchapa (Kacchar or Cochbihār), this Matsya-deśa may be identified with Virāṭa placed to the north-east of Bengal in a verse of the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*.[2] Virāṭa was the celebrated epic king of the Matsya country which has been located in the Alwar-Jaipur-Bharatpur region and its capital Virāṭa-nagara has been identified with modern Bairāṭ in the former Jaipur State. But this ancient Matsya country seems to be mentioned in our text as Virāṭa (verse 25). It is difficult to say whether the author's intention was to distinguish between Matsya and Virāṭa, both located in the same area or whether he has made a confusion between the actual Matsya country in Eastern Rajasthan and a tract of land in Bengal.

52. *Madra* (v. 53).

The Madra country is located south-eastwise between Vairāṭa and Pāṇḍya. Vairāṭa is evidently the same as Virāṭa (No. 24) and Pāṇḍya the same as Pāṇḍu (No. 25). The ancient Madra people lived about the modern Sialkot District of the Punjab. Their capital Śākala has been identified with Sialkot. Madra however has been used here in a wider sense, as Virāṭa or Matsya lay far to the south of the ancient Madra country.

53. *Sauvīra* (v. 54.).

The Sauvīra country seems to be placed to the west of Śaurasena and to the east of Kaṇṭhaka and is called the worst

1. Cf. however p. 71, verse 8 of Group I and verse 5 of Group II.
2. See No. 24 (above, p. 93).

of all countries. Ancient Sauvīra was situated to the east of the Lower Indus and included Multān in the north. haurasena, *i.e.* the Mathurā region, was far to the east. Kaṇṭhaka cannot be satisfactorily identified ; but it reminds us of the Kathaioi tribe located by the classical authors between the Jhelam and the Chinab. This Kaṇṭhaka does not appear to be identical with Śrīkaṇṭha in the eastern part of the Punjab. Or, can the intended reading be *Kacchakāt paścime*, 'to the west of Kutch ?'

54. *Lāṭa* (v. 55).

The Lāṭa country seems to be placed to the west of Avanti and to the north-west of Vaidarbha (Berar). The ancient Lāṭa country was the district between the Lower Mahī and the Tāptī ; but sometimes it also extended beyond the Mahī. Bhṛgukachcha (Broach) and Navasārikā (Nausāri) belonged to this country. The *Kāmasūtra* (VI, 5, 26) commentary also locates Lāṭa to the west of Apara-Mālava, *i.e.* Western Malwa.

55. *Varvara* (v. 56).

The great country called Varvara is described as extending from Māyāpura and as lying to the north of Sapta-śṛṅga. Varvara reminds us of Barbaricum of the *Periplus*, which lay on the sea at the mouth of the Indus and belonged to the country of Scythia (Indo-Scythia of Ptolemy), *i.e.* the Śaka country, about the beginning of the Christian era. It is tempting to identify Māyāpura with the place of that name near Hardwār ; but it is far away from the ancient Barbaricum. Sapta-śṛṅga is again a famous place to the north of Nasik. The image of the eighteen-armed goddess of this place is 12 feet high.[1] A verse of the Supplement also mentions both Māyāpura and Sapta-śṛṅga ; but it is difficult to determine their position with reference to the country of Varvara. Can Māyāpura be the Mayapur Pass in the Jhansi District, U. P. ?

56. *Saindhava* (v. 57).

The great country called Saindhava, *i.e.* Sindhu, is described

1. *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. VII, p. 450.

as extending from Laṅkā-pradeśa as far as Makkā. Makkā may indicate here the Muslim lands of Western Asia in general. But Laṅkā is not easy to identify. It is difficult to determine whether the country called Siṁhala = Siṁhapura of the Punjab is intended by the author. Of course it is possible, in consideration of the travellers' point of view, to identify it with Ceylon. They might have reached Sind from Ceylon which was on the way to Mecca. The ancient Sindhu-deśa lay to the west of the Lower Indus and was not exactly the same as modern Sindh.

Supplement

The Five Prasthas (v. 2).

The *Prasthas* or Tantrik territorial divisions of 'India' are enumerated as five, *viz.* (1) Indra-prastha, (2) Yama-prastha, (3) Varuṇa-prastha, (4) Kūrma-prastha, and (5) Deva-prastha. The word *prastha* means 'a level expanse', 'level plain,' 'table-land on the top of a mountain,' 'the top of a mountain', etc. The word also indicates 'going on a journey' and hence possibly, 'pilgrimage'. This fivefold division of India may therefore have been made from a Tantric pilgrim's point of view. The association of *Aśvapati* and *Narapati* with Indra-prastha and Yama-prastha respectively reminds us of the medieval imperial title *Aśvapati-Gajapati-Narapati-rāja-tray-ādhipati.*[1]

1. *Indra-prastha* (vv. 3-6).

Indraprastha, the name used in ancient literature to indicate a city in the suburbs of Delhi (see v. 4), appears to have been connected with Yoginīpura which is another name of Delhi. In the eastern district of our Indra-prastha lay Mathurā and Gokula, the famous pilgrim-spots of North India. Vṛndāvana, which is near Mathurā, is placed at the *kola-deśa*, i.e. side, of Indra-prastha while Hastināpura in the Meerut District lay in its north. Dvārakā is placed to the west and Gadāvarta to the south. Dvārakā is the famous *Tīrtha* in Kathiawad. Gadāvarta, quite well-known from the *Harivaṁśa* as the place where the *Gadā*

1. Cf. *C. I. I.*, Vol. IV, pp. c-ci.

or club thrown by Jarāsandha against Kṛṣṇa at Mathurā fell, is also to be placed not very far from Mathurā. This Indraprastha is therefore bounded by Delhi and Meerut in the north, Gadāvarta in the south, Mathurā in the east, and Dvārakā in the west. Roughly speaking it included the Meerut region in the north-east and parts of Kathiawad in the south-west with its centre at the city of Indraprastha (Delhi). It is stated to have been the land of the *Aśvapati* or the lord of horses or cavalry.

2. *Yama-prastha* (vv. 7-9).

Yama-prastha seems to be placed in the south (*i.e.*, to the south of Indra-prastha) with Someśvara in the west, Sapta-śṛṅga in the east, Māyāpura in the north and Vyankaṭeśa in the south. Someśvara and Vyaṅkaṭeśa are evidently the gods at the celebrated temples at Somanātha in Kathiawad and at Tirupati in the Chittur District of Andhra Pradesh. Māyāpura and Sapta-śṛṇga are no doubt the places of these names mentioned in connection with Varvara (No. 55). There is reference to another locality called Śaṅkhāvarta which is possibly also called Māyā-kṣetra. Roughly speaking, Yama-prastha or the southern *prastha* comprised parts of Kathiawad in the north-west and the district round Tirupati in the south. Thisw as the seat of the *Narapati* or the lord of men or foot-soldiers.

3. *Varuṇa-prastha* (vv. 10-13).

Varuṇa-prastha or Vāruṇa-prastha is said to have Jagannātha (in the Puri District, Orissa) in the east, Makkeśvara (at Mecca) in the west, Hiṅgulā (in Sind) in the north and Trailokyavijayā in the south. The seven *Sāgaras* and *Samudras* (seas and oceans?) are placed beyond or near this *prastha*. Trailokyavijayā appears to indicate some deity or pilgrim-spot in Ceylon. There is reference also to a place called Rājāvarta. Thus Varuṇa-prastha was evidently connected with the sea and comprised most of the districts on the coast of the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal. This was probably the seat of the *Gajapati* or the lord of elephants (cf. the Gajapatis of Orissa).

4. *Kūrma-prastha* (vv. 14-16).

Kūrma-prastha is placed to the north of Gokarṇeśa,

to the west of Kāmākhyā, to the south of Mānseśa and to the east of Śāradā. Gokarṇa in Nepāl, Kāmākhyā in Assam, the Mānasa-sarovara in the Northern Himalayas and the Sāradā-maṭha in Kāśmīra are all well known and have already been referred to.[1] This is the Himalayanan *prastha* and comprised the northernmost areas of India. This Gokarṇa is not to be confused with the town of this name having a famous Śiva temple in the North Kanara District.

5. *Deva-prastha* (vv. 17-19).

Deva-prastha seems to be placed to the west of Vairajanātha (or Candranātha), and to the south (east?) of the Amarakaṇṭaka, and Kāñcīpura and Mohanāvarta are located in this *prastha* which had possibly something to do also with Kāmākhyā. Vairajanātha may be connected with the Virajā-kṣetra or Jājpur ; but Candranātha, the celebrated god in the Chittagong District in Bengal, seems to be actually indicated. Kāñcīpura of the verse does not appear to mean the famous Kāñcīpuram near Madras. It is better to identify it with the Kāñcī-pīṭha on the Kopāi river near Bolpur in the Birbhum District of West Bengal. Deva-prastha therefore comprised the south-eastern and eastern regions of India. Bengal and Assam which had the greatest centres of medieval Tantricism were included in this *prastha* which is possibly called *Deva-prastha* significantly.

1. See above, pp. 86-87 (Nos. 8-9), pp. 96-97 (Nos. 32-33).

V

GAUḌA

1. *Gauḍa as the Name of a City*

Gauḍa (usually written *Gaur* in English) was the residence of several dynasties of the Muslim rulers of Bengal for many centuries from the establishment of Muhammadan rule in the country about the close of the twelfth century A.D. The ruins of the city lie in lat. 24° 52′, long. 88° 10′ to the north or left bank of the Ganges and south of the modern town of Malda, headquarters of the District of that name in West Bengal. The traces of the ruined city with some buildings of Muhammadan times extend over an immense area now chieflly covered with jungle. As late as the middle of the sixteenth century, a European traveller gives the following account of the city of Gauḍa : "It is situated on the banks of the Ganges and is said to be three of our leagues in length and to contain 200000 inhabitants. On the one side it has the river for its defence and on the landward faces a wall of great height......the streets are thronged with the concourse and traffic of people.......that they cannot force their way past......a great part of the houses of this city are stately and well-wrought buildings."[1] In 1683, another European traveller who visited the old city in ruins says, "We spent 3 hours in seeing the ruins especially of the palace which has been......in my judgment considerably bigger and more beautiful than the Grand Seignor's seraglio at Constantinople or any other palace that I have seen in Europe."[1]

In Muslim times, the city of Gauḍa was also known by the name Lakhnautī no doubt a corruption of Sanskrit *Lakṣmaṇāvatī*. This name was apparently coined after that of king Lakṣmaṇasena (*circa* 1189-1206 A.D.) of the Sena dynasty, who was ousted from the western and northern districts of Bengal by the Muhammadans. The Senas thus appear to have had at least one

1. See *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. *Gour.*

of their secondary capitals at Gauḍa. The city of Rāmāvatī (called Rāmautī by the Muslim writers), named after the Pāla king Rāmapāla (*circa* 1077-1120 A.D) and the capital or a secondary capital of the Later Pālas of Bengal and Bihar, was probably also situated in the vicinity of the present site of Gauḍa. Thus Gauḍa flourished as an important city of Eastern India for a considerable period of time before the establishment of Muslim rule, and pre-Muslim rulers of the country often built new cities named after them in the vicinity of the site of the old city.

The *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini who flourished in North-Western India about the fifth century B.C. speaks of a city called Gauḍapura. But the rule *pure prācām* (6, 2, 99) which immediately precedes the rule *ariṣṭa-gauḍa-pūrve ca* (6,2,100) suggests that both the cities, *viz.*, Ariṣṭapura and Gauḍapura referred to in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, were situated outside the eastern part of I ndia[1] in a region which was more or less fully Aryanised before the composition of the grammatical work in question. There is again no reason to believe that the Aryanisation of Western Bengal (in which the Gauḍa country was situated) made any appreciable progress in the age of Pāṇini.[2] Thus the identification of Pāṇini's Gauḍapura with the city of Gauḍa in Bengal is highly improbable. The name *Gauḍa* is supposed to be derived from the word *guḍa* meaning 'sugar'. The country, of which Gauḍa was the chief city, was also known by the same name possibly because it was famous in ancient times for its production of sugar. But whether the name of the city was applied to the country or that of the country to its chief city cannot be dertermined in the present state of our knowledge. The fact however that, in the seventh century A.D., the capital of the Gauḍa country was called Karṇasuvarṇa (modern Rāṅgāmāṭi, about eleven miles to the south of Murshidabad, headquarters of the District of that name to the south of the Ganges and Malda) seems to suggest that the city was named after the country. This fact also indicates that the

1. Cf. S. Sen, *Vāṅgālā Sāhityer Itihāsa*, Vol. I, 2nd ed., p. 4.
2. See my 'Spread of Aryanism in Bengal,' in *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Letters, Vol. XVIII, 1952, pp. 171 ff.

city of Gauḍa was built in its present site to the south of Malda some time after the seventh century probably in the age of the Pālas. It is interesting to note in this connection that all the *jaya-skandhāvāras* (*i.e.* residences or temporary capitals) of the Pāla kings, including Rāmāvatī-nagara (in the vicinity of the site of Gauḍa) were situated on the Ganges. Urged by their preference for a city on the main course of the river, the Pāla kings may have transferred the headquarters of the Gauḍa country from Karṇasuvarṇa to the present site of Gauḍa in the Malda District. This seems to have been done after the main current of the river had begun to pass through the Padmā and the Bhāgīrathī (the original Ganges), on which Karṇasuvarṇa was situated, had begun to be gradually less important as a watercourse. There is moreover reason to believe that originally the Ganges flowed by a route through the middle of the present District of Malda so that the city of Gauḍa lay on its southern or right bank.[1]

About the ancient course of the Ganges, a distinguished writer says, 'The tract between Malda and Murshidabad was the ancient Ganges delta where the river split up into numerous spill channels, the most important of which appear to be the Sarasvatī, the Bhāgīrathī and the Bhairab. Leaving the hills of Rajmahal, the Ganges seems to have passed northwards through the modern Kalindri, and then southwards into the lower course of the Mahānandā, east of the ruins of ancient Gaur. There was also the south-eastern branch of the Ganges (modern Padmā), the bifurcation being pretty old and shown in Ptolemy's map. In the oldest of modern maps, De Barros' (1550) and Gastaldi's (1561), Gaur is shown on the west of the Ganges. Leaving Gaur, the main waters of the Ganges turned southward and flowed through the channel of the Bhairab (as Kṛttivāsa, the reputed author who flourished in the fourteenth century, indicated) and, from at least the twelfth to the sixteenth century, through the Sarasvatī into the Bay, while the ancient eastern branch of the Ganges is traceable in the *jhils* and morasses which extend from Purnea to the sea. The Ganges thus forsook this course in favour

1. Cf. *Hist. Beng.*, Dacca University, Vol. I, p. 3.

of the channel through which the Bhāgīrathī now passes."[1] The situation of the Gauḍa capital Karṇasuvarṇa on its banks seems to suggest that the present Bhāgīrathī carried the main current of the Ganges as late as the seventh century A.D.

2. *Gauḍa as the Name of a Country.*

In modern times, the name Gauḍa is often used in Bengali literature to indicate the whole area inhabited by the Bengali-speaking people. Originally however the Gauḍa country seems to have comprised, in a narrow sense, the present District of Murshidabad together with the southernmost areas of the Malda District of Bengal. The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-tsang who visited India in the first half of the seventh century A.D. speaks of Karṇasuvarṇa as the name of both the capital and the kingdom of king Śaśāṅka who killed king Rājyavardhana of Thānesar about 605 A.D. The king responsible for the death of Rājyavardhana is however described in the *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇa, who flourished at the court of Rājyavardhana's younger brother and successor Harṣa, as 'the lord of Gauḍa'. There is thus no doubt that Gauḍa was the usual name of Hiuen-tsang's kingdom of Karṇasuvarṇa apparently so named by the Chinese traveller after the name of the capital of that kingdom. According to the Chinese account, the celebrated Buddhist monastery called Raktamṛttikā-vihāra stood on the suburbs of the city of Karṇasuvarṇa and the country of that name was about 730 or 750 miles in circuit. As the monastery in question has been located at modern Rāṅgā-māṭi (literally, 'the red earth', the same as Sanskrit *Rakta-mṛttikā*) about eleven miles to the south of Murshidabad, the Karṇasuvarṇa or Gauḍa country has to be located about the present Murshidabad District, although the dominions of the Gauḍa king Śaśāṅka is known to have actually comprised wide regions of Eastern India.

The above location of Gauḍa in a narrow sense is remarkably supported by a late Purāṇic tradition. An interpolated section in some manuscripts of the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* locates Gauḍa-deśa,

[1] Radhakamal Mookerjee, *The Changing Face of Bengal*, 1938, pp. 141-2.

inhabited by the deity Gauḍeśa or Gauḍeśī, in the land between the river Padmā and Vardhamāna. Thus the Gauḍa country is placed exactly about the Murshidabad District bounded in the north by the Padmā and in the south by the Burdwan or Vardhamāna District. The same authority regards Gauḍa as only one of the seven *deśas* forming Puṇḍra-deśa, viz. (1) Gauḍa, (2) Varendra (Malda-Rajshahi-Bogra region), (3) Nīviti, (4) Suhma-deśa (*i.e.*, Rāḍha), (5) Jhārīkhaṇḍa (Santal Parganas District) called *jāṅgala* apparently meaning 'jungly', (6) Varāhabhumi (Barābhūm in the Manbhum District), and (7) Vardhamāna (Burdwan).[1] The localities forming the Gauḍa country according to the same tradition are : (1) Navadvīpa (in the Nadia District), (2) Śāntipura (in the Nadia District), (3) Maulapattana (Mollāi in the Hooghly District), and (4) Kaṇṭakapattana (Katwa in the Burdwan District). The tradition would thus comprise in the Gauḍa country the present Murshidabad District together with parts of the Nadia, Burdwan and Hooghly Districts of West Bengal. It may be pointed out in this connection that the Puṇḍra country in this tradition comprised Western and Northern Bengal together with some eastern districts of Bihar. Nīviti is said to have included Bardhankoṭ in the Rangpur District. It is sometimes believed that the same name is found in the *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa*. But the *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa* passage *Puṇḍrāḥ syur = Varendrī Gauḍa-nīvṛti* seems to mean that the Puṇḍra country was the same as Varendrī lying in the realm (*nīvṛt*) of Gauḍa. The name Gauḍa is here used in a wider sense. It is however not improbable that the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* tradition is based on a misunderstanding of the *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa* passage.

The late medieval work entitled *Ṣaṭpañcāśaddeśavibhāga* which is incorporated in the *Śaktisaṅgama Tantra* describes the Gauḍa country as lying between the country of Vaṅga and Bhuvaneśa, *i.e.* Bhubaneswar in the Puri District of Orissa.[1] The same work describes Vaṅga as the land extending from the sea to the Brahmaputra.[2] The sea is apparently the Bay of Bengal in the south of Vaṅga, while Brahmaputra placed on the northern boundary

1. See above, p. 92.
2. Cf. above, p. 84.

of Vaṅga seems to indicate that portion of the river which bifurcates from the Jumna. Thus the eastern half of Bengal has been called Vaṅga and its western half together with parts of Orissa has been designated Gauḍa in the work in question. This broad division of the Bengali-speaking area into two halves, viz. Eastern Bengal called Vaṅga and Western Bengal called Gauḍa, is echoed by some Muslim historians who spoke of the country as Gaur-Bangāl, i.e. Gauḍa-Vaṅga. Vaṅgāla (Bangāl) was originally the name of the Buckergunje region of the Vaṅga country ; but later the name came to be applied to the whole of Vaṅga or East Bengal and still later to the whole of the Bengali-speaking area. At present, Gauḍa, Vaṅga and Vaṅgāla are indiscriminately used to indicate the wide area of East India where the Bengali language is spoken. The major part of the country lies in West Bengal in the Indian Union and East Bengal in Pakistan ; but parts of it belong to the other neighbouring states like Bihar.

We have seen that the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-tsang describes Karṇasuvarṇa or Gauḍa as a small tract. It is to be noticed that he distinguishes the above country from Puṇyavardhana or Puṇḍravardhana in North Bengal, Samataṭa in South-East Bengal and Tāmralipti in South-West Bengal. In Indian literature also Gauḍa is likewise separated from other tracts of Bengal. The Kauṭilīya *Arthaśāstra* (Chs. 32-33) mentions the textile products of Vaṅga and Puṇḍra and the silver of Gauḍa. Varāhamihira's *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*(XIV) mentions side by side Suhma, Samataṭa, Lauhitya (the Brahmaputra valley), Gauḍaka (*i.e.* Gauḍa), Pauṇḍra (*i.e.* Puṇḍravardhana), Tāmraliptika (*i.e.* Tāmralipta) and Vardhamāna. There is reason to believe that the northern and south-eastern parts of Bengal were Aryanised considerably earlier than the western part of the country including Gauḍa. The mention of Gauḍa in the *Arthaśāstra*, which in its present form has to be assigned to about the third century A.D., points to the growing importance of the country in the economic life of Eastern India. In the fourth century A. D., the Gauḍa region became an integral part of the Gupta empire; but, with the decline of the imperial power

of the Guptas, the Gauḍas established an independent monarchy in the sixth century. The importance of Gauḍa became established in the social and cultural life of India during the days of these independent monarchs of Gauḍa. We have already referred to king Śaśāṅka of Gauḍa, who flourished about the first quarter of the seventh century A.D. and ruled over extensive territories in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. An earlier king of Karṇasuvarṇa was Jayanāga. Three other kings of Gauḍa appear to have been Dharmāditya, Gopacandra and Samācāradeva who ruled in sixth century A.D. Under the vigorous rule of these monarchs, Gauḍa appears to have extended its power over the neighbouring territories. One of the above kings of Gauḍa fought with the Maukhari king Iśānavarman about the middle of the sixth century and another conquered and annexed Kāmarūpa to his empire about the close of that eentury.

The Maukhari court-poet, while referring to the struggle between the Maukharis and the Gauḍas, speaks of the latter as having been compelled to be *samudr-āśraya*, *i.e.*, a people whose shelter is the sea, owing to their defeat at the hands of the Maukhari king.[1] This shows that in the sixth century A.D. the Gauḍas had already become famous as a sea-faring people. That the Gauḍa country about this time produced many sea-faring merchants is suggested by the discovery of an inscription[2] of *Mahānāvika* (i.e. Captain) Buddhagupta of Raktamṛttikā (near the Gauḍa capital) in the Wellesley District of the Malay Peninsula. The Dubi inscription of Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa seems to refer to the Gauḍa army as specially strong in naval warfare.[3]

It may be mentioned in this connection that, besides Gauḍa in Bengal, some other tracts in different parts of India were also known by this name. One such Gauḍa was the modern Gonda District of Uttar Pradesh, in which the celebrated city of Śrāvasti was situated.[4] It is, however, possible to think that

1. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, p. 7, text line 3 ; *J.R.A.S.B.*, Letters, Vol. XI. p. 69. note 4.
2. Chatterjee and Chakravarti, *India and Java*, Part II, p. 7.
3. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 293 ff.
4. Cf. *Kūrma Purāṇa*, I, 20, 19. For a controversy on this point, see *History of Bengal*, Dacca University, Vol. I .p. 579, note.

Gauḍa as the name of Goṇḍā was a later modification of the older name of the area in imitation of the famous land of East India. The name of the Goṇḍ people of Central India was often Sanskritized as Gauḍa and the land inhabited by the Goṇḍs came also to be known by this name. Kannaḍa *Gauḍa* or *Gavuḍa* meaning 'a village headman' has nothing to do with Bengal. The same is the case with Oriya *Gaüḍa* meaning 'a milkman' and written as *Gokuṭa* in some inscriptions.

3. *Gauḍa as the Collective Name of the Eastern Countries of India*

About a century after the establishment of the powerful kingdom of Gauḍa, its name began to be used in a general sense to indicate the countries of Eastern India. In Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa* (seventh century) one of the two principal styles of Sanskrit composition is described as Gauḍa or *prācya*, *i.e.* eastern.

Daṇḍin draws a distinction between the Gauḍa or eastern and the Vaidarbha or southern styles. Among the characteristics of the former is the love of long compounds not only in prose, in which they were also used by the southerners, but also in poetry. The easterners also favoured alliteration and harsh sound effects, recondite etymologizing phraseology and strength often resulting in bombast and affectation. Jacobi believed that Sanskrit poetry in the east had developed the evil effects of old age before the art became current in the western and southern parts of India. But it should be noticed that in Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*, which is a few centuries earlier than the *Kāvyādarśa*, the qualities which Daṇḍin ascribes to the Vaidarbha style is assigned to the Kāvya style in general. Keith is no doubt right when he says, "This is a strong suggestion that at the time of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* there had not developed the characteristics of the Gauḍa style and that they emerged gradually with the development of poetry at the courts of princes of Bengal."[1] These 'princes of Bengal' appear to have been no other than the kings of Gauḍa who flourished in the sixth century and the earlier part of the seventh, to whom reference has been made above. But the fact that the Gauḍa

1. *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 60.

style came to be ascribed to the whole of Eastern India may suggest that poets at other East Indian courts were imitating those at the Gauḍa court. This led ultimately to the application of the name Gauḍa to East India generally.

Like the literary style of Eastern India named after Gauḍa, the East Indian alphabet was named after the same country. Bühler says, "Towards the end of the 11th century, the Nāgarī inscriptions of Eastern India shew such distinct traces of changes leading up to the modern Bengali writing and these changes become so numerous in the 12th century that it is possible to class their alphabets as Proto-Bengali. Only a few among the Proto-Bengali letters are new local formations. The great majority occur already in other older scripts, be it in exactly the same or in similar shape."[1] Bendall and Bühler also noticed the influence of this script on the alphabet used in the Nepalese manuscripts of the period between the 12th and 15th centuries.[2] Now, in coining the name Proto-Bengali for the script in question, Bühler seems to have ignored several factors. In the first place, 'the eastern variety of the Nāgarī alphabet' found in 'the Nāgarī inscriptions of Eastern India', out of which Proto-Bengali developed in the twelfth century, should better have been distinguished from the 'Nāgarī' found in the inscriptions discovered in other parts of India by applying a more specific name to it. Secondly, when, even earlier than the eleventh century A.D.,[3] the same script was used in Bengal, Bihar, Assam and Orissa and when even now Bengal and Assam use practically the same alphabet while the Maithili and Oriya alphabets are nearly the same, the name Proto-Bengali can hardly be regarded as quite appropriate, in spite of the fact that, along with its literature, Bengal's alphabet has come to occupy a more important position. Thirdly, as early as the first half of the eleventh century, the same East Indian script was named after Gauḍa. Al-Bīrūnī,

1. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIII, App., p. 58.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 60.

3. Ojha (*Prācīnalipimālā*, p. 77) has traced letters like *e* and *kh* of the Bengali type in the inscriptions of the time of Nārāyaṇapāla (*circa* 854-908 A. D.), that is to say, in records belonging to the ninth and tenth centuries. Bühler himself does not deny such facts.

who wrote his work on India about 1030 A.D., speaks of the following alphabets : (1) Siddhamātṛkā used in the Kashmir, Banāras and Kanauj regions, (2) Nāgara used in Mālava (3-5) Ardhanāgarī, Malwārī and Saindhava, used in Sindh, (6-9) Karnāṭa, Āndhrī, Drāviḍī and Lārī used respectively in the Kannaḍa, Andhra, Drāviḍa and Lāṭa countries, (10) Gauḍī used in Pūrva-deśa, *i.e.* the eastern country, and (11) Bhaikṣukī which was the writing of the Buddha (*i.e.* the Buddhists) used in Udunpur (possibly Uddaṇḍapura, *i.e.* modern Biharsharif in the Patna District) in Pūrva-deśa.[1] This shows that the East Indian script, called Proto-Bengali by Bühler, was named after Gauḍa at least by the beginning of the eleventh century. Many of the names found in the list of sixty-four alphabets in the *Lalitavistara* (translated into Chinese in 308 A.D.) are apparently imaginary and doubtful ; but the separate mention of the Aṅga-lipi, Vaṅga-lipi, Magadha-lipi, Drāviḍa-lipi, Kanāri-lipi, Dakṣiṇa-lipi, Apara-Gauḍ-ādi-lipi, etc.,[2] seems to suggest that the tendency towards the growth of special characteristics in the alphabets of Southern and Eastern India was noticed even in an earlier age.

What has been said above would show that the name Gauḍa was specially applied to the literary style and script of Eastern India and that Gauḍa in these cases indicates the East Indian countries generally. In this connection, attention may be invited to the language of the *caryā* songs assigned by linguists to the period between the tenth and twelfth centuries A.D. They no doubt offer the earliest stage of the East Indian dialect just emerged from the Apabhraṁśa stage. But there is a great controversy among scholars as regards the closeness of the language of the *caryās* with the different dialects now spoken in Eastern India such as Bengali, Assamese, Oriya, Maithili and Eastern Hindi. Linguisticians whose mother-tongue is any of the above languages have tried to prove the special affinity of the *caryā* dialect with their mother-tongue. Thus H. P. Sastri, S. K. Chatterji, P. C. Bagchi, S. K. Sen and other Bengali scholars

1. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, Vol. I, p. 173.
2. G. H. Ojha, *op. cit.*, p. 7, note 3.

believe that the *caryās* are written in old Bengali. K. L. Barua and other Assamese writers regard the language of the *caryās* as old Assamese which they call Kāmarūpī. J. K. Misra and others from Mithila take the *caryā* language to be old Maithili. There are also similar claims on behalf of Oriya and Eastern Hindi.[1] We are however inclined to believe that the characteristics of the *caryā* language may be easily traced in all the languages now spoken in Eastern India because it was the language of Eastern India generally. The authors of the songs may be attributed to particular areas and their compositions may exhibit in some cases certain regional peculiarities; but it will hardly be correct for the matter of that to regard the language of the songs to be any one of those that later developed in the areas in question especially in view of the fact that the modern languages of Eastern India have a good deal in common amongst them. It is very probable that, in the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D., the difference among these languages was not as remarkable as in modern times and that the literary language of the *caryās* was easily understood in different parts of Eastern India. The proper name for the *caryā* language should therefore be Gauḍī or East Indian and not old Bengali, Assamese, Maithili, Oriya or Eastern Hindi. We may then have a Gauḍa language besides a Gauḍa style of Sanskrit composition and a Gauḍa alphabet. East Indian linguists of particular areas may successfully trace affinities of their mother-tongue with the *caryā* language ; but they should better not regard it as the origin exclusively of their mother-tongue.[2]

4. *Gauḍa as the Name of Āryāvarta or Northern India.*

The South Indian Brāhmaṇas are usually divided into five sections, viz., Drāviḍa (Tamil), Karṇāṭa, Gurjara, Mahārāṣṭra and Tailaṅga. These are collectively called the Pañca-Drāviḍa.[3]

1. See S. K. Sen, *op. cit.*, pp. 45 ff. ; K. L. Barua, *Early History of Kāmarūpa*, pp. 318 ff.; J. K. Misra, *History of Maithila Literature*, p. x; etc.

2. The Gauḍī dialect (*vibhāṣā*) is recognised in Puruṣottama's *Prākṛtānuśāsana* (12th century). See my *Gram. Prak. Lang.*, p. 118.

3. See Apte, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s. v. *Drāviḍa*. The *Śabdakalpadruma*, s. v., quotes a faulty stanza from the *Skanda Purāṇa* in support of the list of the five classes of Drāviḍa Brāhmaṇas:

कर्णाटाश्चैव तैलंगा(द्राविडा) गुर्जरा राष्ट्रवासिनः ।
आंध्राश्च द्राविडाः पंच विंध्यदक्षिणवासिनः ॥

An inscription of 1425 A.D. speaks of four out of the five classes of Drāviḍa Brāhmaṇas as Kannaḍiga, Tamiḷa, Teluṅga and Iāḷa (*i.e.* Lāṭa=Gurjara).[1] Now these social groups of the Brāhmaṇas were developed out of the principal linguistic subdivisions of the people of South India. On the analogy of the above divisions, the North Indian Brāhmaṇas were also divided into five groups under the general name of Gauḍa. The *Śabdakalpadruma*, s. v. *Gauḍa*, quotes the following verse from the *Skanda Purāṇa* :

सारस्वताः कान्यकुब्जा गौडमैथिलिकोत्कलाः ।
पंचगौडा इति ख्याता विंध्यस्योत्तरवासिनः ।।

The five classes of the Gauḍa or North Indian Brāhmaṇas were thus the Sārasvata (associated with the Sarasvatī valley in the Eastern Punjab), Kānyakubja, Gauḍa, Maithila and Utkala.[2] Although this seems to be a rather arbitrary classification, there is no doubt that the name Gauḍa has been applied in this case to North India generally. That the said classification is not very late is suggested by the mention of the Pañca-Gauḍīya community is an inscription of 926 A. D.[3]

The application of the name Gauḍa in the general sense of Āryāvarta or North India can also be traced elsewhere in literature. There is a tradition regarding king Bhoja (*circa* 1010-55 A.D.) of the Paramāra dynasty of Malwa recorded in the following verse :

पंचाशत्पंचवर्षाणि सप्तमासदिनत्रयम् ।
भोजराजेन भोक्तव्यः सगौडो दक्षिणापथः ।।[4]

1. *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I, pp. 82-84.

2. Wilson's *Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms* gives an account of the Gauḍa Brāhmaṇas under the entries *Brāhmaṇ* and *Gauḍ*. Under *Gauṛ-Brāhmaṇ*, Wilson says, "The Brāhmaṇ of the Gauṛ tribe or caste ; one of the five Gauṛs, but located in the upper provinces throughout the Subah of Delhi to the hills. There are many sub-divisions of these Gauṛ-Brāhmaṇs of Hindustān, who are apparently unknown in Bengal, as the Ādh-Gauṛ, Kaithal-Gauṛ, Gūjar-Gauṛ, Sidh-Gauṛ, etc., amounting in all to forty-two." He also speaks of the Gauṛ Kāyath said to be settled from Bengal in the upper provinces by Nāṣir-ud-dīn (son of Balban) in the thirteenth century, Gauṛ-Rājpūt numerous in the North-Western Province (U. P.), Gauṛ-Tagā a tribe of Brāhamaṇical descent in the north-west of India, and Gauṛ-Ṭhākur a tribe of Rājpūts settled in the Farrukhabad District. The Gauṛ-Tagās claim that they were originally invited from Bengal by Rājā Janamejaya, the Kaurava king of Hastināpura, for the purpose of exterminating the Takṣakas or snakes.

3. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 48. See also the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (*circa* 1150 A.D.), IV, 468.

4. *Bhojaprabandha*, Calcutta ed., p.3; cf. Ray, *D.H.N.I.*, Vol.II, p. 858.

According to this tradition, Bhoja ruled over both Gauḍa and Dakṣiṇāpatha for a little over 55 years. The real implication of the verse has so long been misunderstood by scholars. There is no doubt that it speaks of Bhoja's lordship over Gauḍa in the sense of North India and over Dakṣiṇāpatha or South India; that is to say, Bhoja claimed to have ruled over the whole of India including both Northern and Southern India. This was merely the conventional way of saying that Bhoja was a *cakravartin* i.e. an imperial ruler. The Indian *cakravartins* were conventionally represented as the ruler of the 'whole earth' which only meant the *cakravarti-kṣetra* bounded by the Himalayas and the sea. Sometimes Āryāvarta or North India was conceived as an independent *cakravarti-kṣetra* for North Indian rulers and South India bounded by the three seas (the Indian Ocean, the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea) for the rulers of the Deccan.[1] In the verse quoted above, Bhoja is represented as the lord of both the *cakravarti-kṣetras* of the north and the south of India. Like similar claims of other monarchs, the claim on Bhoja's behalf does not mean that the Paramāra king acutally ruled over any part of South India or over Gauḍa in Bengal in the narrow sense of the term. Here Bhoja merely claims to have been a *cakravartin* which means nothing more than an imperial ruler of any part of India.

1. For the conventional *cakravarti-kṣetras*, see *J.R.A.S.B.*, Letters, Vol. V, 1939, pp. 497 ff. See also above, pp. 15-16.

VI

BENGAL

European (mainly Portuguese) writers of the 16th and 17th centuries place a certain City of Bengala near the Meghnā estuary, *i.e.* the joint mouth of the Padmā and the Meghnā. This estuary extends over the wide area between the Districts of Buckergunge and Chittagong in East Pakistan. As Bengala (like the modern name *Bengal*) is a foreign corruption of *Vaṅgāla*, a celebrated historian has suggested[1] that this late medieval City of Bengala (which he locates near modern Chittagong) was the capital of the ancient Vaṅgāla-deśa and 'gave its name to the kingdom, or *vice versa*, and, in either case, the old kingdom of Vaṅgāla must be located in the region round the city'.[2] He also suggests that the celebrated Pāla and Candra dynasties of Bengal originally ruled in the Chittagong region.[3]

The above theories appear to be unwarranted. The City of Bengala, mentioned by foreign travellers in the late medieval period,[4] seems to have nothing to do with the early medieval kingdom of Vaṅgāla, which originally denoted a smaller area, but whose geographical sense gradually expanded so as to include ultimately the whole of the land of the Bengali-speaking people.

1. See R. C. Majumdar in *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 227-35.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 229 ; cf. p. 232, : "......this orginal kingdom must be in this region [of Chittagong and Dianga]".

3. *Ibid.*, p. 235.

4. On the strength of Ibn Batūta's reference to 'Sudkawan (Sātgāon) and Bengala' and to 'Lakhnautī and Bengala', it has been suggested that in these two early cases Bengala refers to the city and not to the country. There can be no doubt however that the names refer to provinces. According to Muslim authors both Rāl (Rāḍha) and Barind (Varendra) formed parts of Lakhnautī (Raychaudhuri, *Stud. Ind. Ant.*, p. 191). Similarly Bengala no doubt means the province of South-Eastern Bengal, sometimes also called Sonārgāon after its chief city. Orissa was usually called Jājnagar by Muslim authors. Such reference to Bihār, Lakhnautī, Bang and Jājnagar (*I. H. Q.*, *op. cit.*, p. 235) would, if we follow the said line of argument, suggest the existence also of a city called Bang. But this was never the case. Some later Muslim writers refer to East Bengal as *Bang* and to the whole of Bengal as *Bangāl*.

In this connection, we have to trace the gradual expansion of the geographical connotation of the name Vaṅgāla. This name is often found in records and works of the period later than the 10th century A. D. Reference to Vaṅgāla is found in the Tirumalai inscription (1024 A. D.) of Rājendra Cola,[1] which speaks of king Govindacandra as the lord of Vaṅgāla-deśa. The Ablur inscription of Kalacurya Vijjala[2] (1157-67 A.D.) mentions Vaṅga and Vaṅgāla separately. This differentiation seems to be supported by a work called *Ḍākārṇava* which makes separate mention of Vaṅgāla and Harikela (=Vaṅga, according to the *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* of the 12th century lexicographer Hemacandra),[3] and by the *Hammīramahākāvya* of Nayacandra Sūri (15th century), which mentions Vaṅga and Vaṅgāla side by side.[4] In the 16th century, however, Abul Fazl says, "The original name of Bangāl (=Vaṅgāla) was Bang (=Vaṅga). Its former rulers raised mounds measuring ten yards in height and twenty in breadth, throughout the province, which were called *āl*. From this suffix the name (*i.e.* Bangāl) took its rise and currency."[5] This identification of Vaṅga and Vaṅgāla has to be reconciled with the evidence referring to them as two different countries.

The *Raghuvaṁśa* reference to the defeat of the Vaṅga people in the land watered by the lower streams of the Ganges[6] and

1. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 229 ff. The earliest reference to Vaṅgāla has been recently traced in the Nesarī plates (805 A.D.) of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda III, which speak of Dharma (*i.e.*, Dharmapāla) as the king of Vaṅgāla (*J.A.S.*, Letters, Vol. XXII, 1956, pp. 133-34). This shows that the name Vaṅgāla was not unknown in earlier times and that the Pālas originally ruled in the tract called by that name. It is interesting to note that Dharmapāla is apparently called 'lord of Vaṅga' in the Sāgar Tāl inscription of Bhoja and 'king of Gauḍa' in the Sanjan plates of Amoghavarṣa. With the expansion of their territories, the Pālas preferred to style themselves as 'lords of Gauḍa'. This seems to be the reason why Vaṅgāla did not become popular in the sense of the Pāla empire.

2. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 57.
3. Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 189.
4. *I.H.Q.*, *op. cit.*, p. 237.
5. Jarrett, *Ani-i-Akbari*, trans., II, p. 120.
6. वंगानुत्खाय तरसा नेता नौसाधनोद्यतान् ।
निचखान जयस्तंभान्गंगास्रोतोन्तरेषु सः ॥ (*Raghuvaṁśa* IV, 36)

Mallinātha explains *Gaṅgā-sroto-natreṣu* as *Gaṅgāyāḥ srotasāṁ pravāhānām=antareṣu dvīpeṣu*; cf. *gīt-āntareṣu*, 'in the intervals of singing', *vāṣpa-salil-āntareṣu*, 'in the interval of weeping'; *na mṛṇāla-sūtraṁ racitaṁ stan-āntare*, '......in the space between the breasts", etc. See below, pp. 139-40; Ch. XI (p. 172 ff.)

epigraphic references to Vaṅga comprising the Vikrampur region of Dacca and Faridpur[1] and to the *Nāvya* region of Vaṅga very probably in the Faridpur and Buckergunge Districts,[2] leave hardly any doubt that Vaṅga certainly included at least parts of the present Dacca, Faridpur and Buckergunge Districts. In the lower part of this region very high roads or earthen-embankments are constructed even today in order to prevent the tide of floods and to facilitate communications during the rainy season. It may therefore be suggested that the southern part of old Vaṅga thus at first came to be known as Vaṅgāla. It is interesting to note that this view is supported by other evidences.

As said above, the Tirumalai inscription refers to Govindacandra as the lord of Vaṅgāla-deśa. The inscriptions of the Candra dynasty of East Bengal, to which Govindacandra belonged, however say that Trailokyacandra, the first king of the family, became lord of Candra-dvīpa and flourished as the mainstay of the fortune (*i.e.* as a feudatory) of the king of Harikela (=Vaṅga according to Hemacandra's *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*).[3] Thus the Candra kingdom is called Candra-dvīpa according to one evidence and Vaṅgāla-deśa according to another. Candra-dvīpa and Vaṅgāla-deśa thus appear to be more or less identical. As Candra-dvīpa is no other than the celebrated Bāklā-Candra-dvīp (*i.e.* parts of the Buckergunge District and the adjoining region), the Buckergunge area was apparently included in Vaṅgāla-deśa.

1. Cf. *Vaṅge Vikramapura-bhāge*, etc. (*Ins. Beng.*, Vol. III, p. 125).

2. Cf. *Vaṅge Nāvye Rāmasiddhi-pāṭake*, etc., *Nāvye Vinayatilaka-grāme pūrve samudraḥ sīmā*, etc. (*ibid.*, p. 146). *Nāvya* means a region accessible by boats. That this region was then not far from the sea (*samudra*), *i.e.* the estuary, is also clear. The word means apparently the same thing as Bengali *bhāṭi*, 'with the tide, the region towards the sea' (from *bhāṭā*, floods of the tide running towards the sea). Cf. also East Bengali *bhaṛ*, low region. In the Muslim period, the district called Bhāṭi sometimes indicated the coastal strip between the estuaries of the Hooghly and the Meghnā. The late work called *Śaktisaṅgama Tantra* places Vaṅga-deśa between the *ratnākara* (sea) and the Brahmaputra (above, p. 84).

3. *Ind. Cult.*, VII, p. 411. According to Keśava's *Kalpadrukoṣa*, Harikela or Harikeli was the name of the Sylhet (Śrīhaṭṭa) region. Cf.

श्रीहट्टो हरिकेलिः स्याच्छ्रीहट्टोपि क्वचिद् भवेत् ।

This name came to be applied to Vaṅga apparently due to the temporary annexation of Vaṅga to the Harikela kingdom. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 338-39.

The suggestion is further supported by the identification of Vaṅgālavaḍā-bhū in the Rāmasiddhi-pāṭaka of the *Nāvya* region of Vaṅga, mentioned in the Sāhitya Pariṣad plate[1] of Viśvarūpa-sena, with modern Bāṅgroṛā in the region of Rāmsiddhi in the Gaurnadī region of the Buckergunge District. Vaṅgāla thus appears to have been popularly mentioned as a separate political unit, after the Candras had established a kingdom in Vaṅgāla; *i.e.* the southern part of Vaṅga. Śrīcandra, son of Trailokya-candra, conquered the Dacca and Faridpur Districts, as the find-spots of his records would show. Laḍahacandra, grandson of Śrīcandra, apparently ruled also over the Tipperah District. Thus Vaṅga proper was now included in the new kingdom of Vaṅgāla. As a result of this, the name Vaṅgāla could be optionally used in an expanded sense to indicate a large area in East Bengal that formed part of the kingdom of Śrīcandra and his successors. By this time, Vaṅga and Vaṅgāla apparently signified more or less the same territory.

Early Muslim authors refer to the Muhammadan kingdom of Bengal first as Lakhnautī or Gaur, as their first settlement did not include East Bengal. The kingdom of East Bengal was sometimes referred to as Bang, Bangāl or Sonārgāon ; and sometimes the whole of Bengal was mentioned as Gaur-Bangāl.[2] Sātgaon was often recognised as a separate political unit. But, as early as the reign of Ghiyāsuddīn Tughluq Shāh (1320-25 A.D.), some Muslim authors are known to speak of Bangāl in a wide sense so as to include Lakhnautī, Sonārgāon and Sātgāon.[3] In the 16th century, the name Bangāl loosely indicated a wider area. It may or may not have geographically included the Chittagong region which was included in the Mughal Subah of Bangāl only during the reign of Aurangzīb in the 17th century. There is no proof at all

1. N. G. Majumdar, *Ins. Beng.*, Vol. III, pp. 840 ff.

2. The *Śaktisaṅgama Tantra* divides Bengal into two halves, viz. Vaṅga and Gauḍa (lying between Vaṅga-deśa and Bhuvaneśa or Bhubaneswar). See above, pp. 84, 98.

3. Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 191 ; Raverty, *Tabaqat-i-Nāsirī*, p. 590n. Muslim authors popularised the use of *Bangāl* in preference to other names to denote the whole of Bengal. A Nepal inscription of 1346 A. D. refers to the army of Sultān Shamsuddīn Ilyas as *Vaṅgāla-bahula bala* (*J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XXII, p. 81; *I.H.Q.*, *op. cit.*, p. 227).

that the Chittagong area formed part of the old kingdom of the Candras and the Pālas. It must be noted that not a single inscription of those dynasties has so far been discovered in the Chittagong District.[1]

We now come to the City of Bengala mentioned by the European (mainly Portuguese) writers of the 16th and 17th centuries A.D. Duarte de Barbosa, Barthema (1510 A. D.), Ovington (1639 A.D.) and several other writers refer to the city. Some authorities identify the city with modern Chittagong or locate it near about that place. It is shown in a map drawn by Gastaldi in 1651 and in another in the *Travels of Cornelius le Bruyan* (published in 1701). In these maps and works as well as in those of Blaev, Sausson, Purchas and others, the City of Bengala is indicated in the Chittagong region.[2] But Barbosa, one of the earliest Portuguese writers on Indian geography,

1. The Arab merchant Sulaiman (851 A. D.) refers to the powerful kingdom of Rahma which has been identified with the kingdom of the Pālas and the identification of Rahma, Rahmi and Ruhmi of the Arabs with Rāmu, a few miles east of Cox's Bazar, has been upheld (*I.H.Q.*, *op. cit.*, pp.232-34). Apart from the fact that there is absolutely no proof of Pāla occupation of Ramu, it seems unconvincing that the Bihar-Bengal empire of the Pālas (even if it included Rāmu), with the emperors often residing at *jayaskandhāvāras* in Bihar, would be named after Rāmu which probably formed a part of Arakan. That the said theory is unjustifiable is proved by Ibn al Fakih (902 A. D.) who says, "In India lies a realm called Rahma bordering on the sea. *Its ruler is a woman.* It is ravaged by the plague and any man who comes from elsewhere in India and enters the country (Rahma) dies there. Yet many come by reason of great profits to be made." (Harvey, *Hist. Burma*, p. 10). In 902 A.D., the Pāla empire is definitely known to have been under Nārāyaṇapāla (c. 857-911 A. D.) and not under a woman. Rahma may be the kingdom of Thaton called Ramañña-desa (Lower Burma). Marco Polo who placed Bangala 'tolerably close to India' and under the rule of the king of Mien (Burma), and Fakir Muḥammad who placed Bangāl to the east of Bhāṭi apparently made some confusion. The Bengali ballad called *Māṇikcandra-rājār Gān*, which says *Bhāṭi haite āila Vāṅgāl lambā lambā dāṛi*, 'the Vāṅgāls (people of Vaṅgāla proper) with their long beards came from Bhāṭi (the southern country)', proves that the people of East Bengal, who were responsible for the original composition of the ballad, knew Vaṅgāla to be identical with Bhāṭi (see C. C. Banerji, *Caṇḍīmaṅgala-bodhinī*, II, p. 765). Mukundarāma (16th century) in his *Caṇḍīmaṅgala* (C.U. ed., p. 655) speaks of the Vāṅgāls as good sailors. As the Chittagong people are reputed sailors, it may be suggested that Mukundarāma identifies the land of the Vāṅgāls with Chittagong. But Mukundarāma was a man of West Bengal and to the people of his part of the country, the inhabitants of any District of East Bengal are Vāṅgāls even today. Moreover, the passages in question are certainly interpolated in the *Caṇḍīmaṅgala*. The *Māṇikcandra-rājār Gān*, an East Bengal production, is therefore more important in this connection. There in we see that the people of Bhāṭi were known even to the people of East Bengal as Vāṅgāls, *i.e.* inhabitants of Vaṅgāla.

2. Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 189; *I.H.Q.*, *op. cit.*, p. 229n.

says that the Bay of Bengal is 'a gulf which enters towards the north and at its inner extremity there is a great city inhabited by Moors (Muhammadans), which is called Bengala, with a very good harbour.'[1] The expression 'at the inner extremity' may point to a locality far to the north of Chittagong, and Moreland suggests that the Portuguese meant Sonārgāon by the City of Bengala.[2] But the city apparently belonged to what the Portuguese called the Porto Grande=Portus Mangnus=Great Port, and we have to determine the location of the latter.

Portuguese writers, when they speak of a voyage to Bengal, usually refer to the Great Port as well as the Porto Pequeno= Portus Parvus=Little Port. Portuguese *porto* is usually understood in the sense of English *port*, and the Little Port is identified with Hooghly or Sātgāon while the Great port is located near Chittagong. Moreland has however shown that 'the word *porto* in the mouth of the sea-faring Portuguese at the period referred primarily to a gap in the coast line and not, as landsmen are apt to assume, a town on the sea-shore ; in other words, *porto* might signify a gulf or estuary which might contain several sea ports.'[3] He has pointed out that sometimes the Little Port indicated the Hooghly estuary, and the Great Port meant the Meghnā estuary and included both Chittagong and Śrīpur (in the Dacca District). The location of the Great Port therefore does not help us materially in locating the City of Bengala.

1. *I.H.Q.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 229-30.
2. *India at the Death of Akbar*, p. 309.
3. *Ibid.*, 307-08. Father F. Fernandus, the Jesuit missionary who was sent to Bengal in 1598, speaks of the danger when his ship ran aground in the Portus Parvus ; but it was afloat and, after sailing for eight days within the Portus, it reached the Portuguese station of Hooghly. By *Potrus Parvus* therefore Fernandus meant the Hooghly river and not any port. He next went to the Portus Magnus and first reached Śrīpur which he describes as a station in the Portus Magnus. Śrīpur was an important port on the Padmā about 18 miles from Sonāragāon, the eastern capital of Bengal. The Father then arrived at Chittagong which was also a station belonging to the Portus Magnus. According to Fernandus therefore the Great Port extended from the Karṇaphuli river to the immediate neighbourhood of Dacca. By the word *porto* some writers however actually meant a port ; Fitch, *e. g.*, identifies Porto Pequeno with Sātgāon. According to Moreland, the change in the meaning may be attributed to the fact that 'the Portuguese did not to any great extent trade directly with Śrīpur ; their communications were with either Hooghly or Chittagong, that is, with only one *Station* in each *Porto*, and, in these circumstances, the transfer of the name from the *Porto* to the *Station* might easily take place, just as *the Mersey* has become a synonym for Liverpool' (*op. cit.*, p. 309).

The chief points of interest in this problem are two. Firstly, there is not a single reference to this City of Bengala, so famous to the Portuguese, in the whole range of medieval Bengali literature, not even in the Bengali history of the Tripurā royal family which often mentions Chittagong. The Bengalis therefore did not know any place of that name, or knew it by a different name, *i.e.* a name of their own. Secondly, while some European writers like Rennell could not trace the city or its site, others denied the very existence of the city called Bengala. In 1689, Ovington. remarked, "A late French geographer (Baudrand) has put Bengala into his Catalogue of imaginary cities, and such as have no real existence in the world."[1] It therefore seems quite clear that even Europeans other than the Portuguese sometimes considered the name of the City of Bengala as a misnomer and had no memory of it after the collapse of the Portuguese power in Bengal. The City of Bengala thus appears to be a name given by the Portuguese to a city which was usually known to others by its Bengali name. As however there is absolutely no proof (in the Bengali literature and Bengal records of any period) of the existence of any city called Vaṅgāla in the south-eastern part of Bengal, the Portuguese name *City of Bengala* seems to have originally indicated the city *par excellence* (*i.e.* the chief city) of the country of Vaṅgāla, *i.e.* East Bengal. Names like Andhrapura, Magadhapura or Māgadhapura, etc., are known to have been alternative names of the chief cities derived from the names of countries, and we have seen that the south-eastern, north-western and south-western provinces of Bengal were also known to the Muslim writers as Sonārgāon (Vaṅgāla), Lakhnautī (Gauḍa) and Sātgāon (Rāḍha) respectively after the chief cities of those provinces. As the chief city of East Bengal lay not far from the Meghnā estuary,[2] it might have been called the City of Bengala by the Portuguese. But apparently

1. *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XIII, p. 262 ; *I.H.Q.*, *op. cit.*, p. 230n.

2. Sonārgāon was the capital of East Bengal during early Muslim days. Dacca was made the capital of the Bengal Subah early in the 17th century. The remark of Purchas that 'Gauro (Gaur or Lakhnautī), the seat royal, and Bengala are fair cities' (*I.H.Q.*, *op. cit*, p.230) apparently refers to the fact that Bengala was the chief city of East Bengal and was looked upon as a secondary capital of Bengal.

that name was used by foreigners (chiefly Portuguese), and the Bengalis continued to use the local or Bengali name. That is why the name could not be traced after the Portuguese collapse in Bengal.[1]

It must however be admitted that some authorities locate the City of Bengala near about Chittagong.[2] It seems that originally the chief city of East Bengal was known to the Portuguese as the City of Bengala ; but after the Portuguese port in the Chittagong region had become the most flourishing centre of trade in Bengal, they began to call it the City of Bengala. This again seems to have been done when Sonārgāon passed out of the picture due to the transference of the provincial capital first to Rājmahal and then to Dacca. The fact that Portuguese sailors came by sea and first reached this flourishing port after days of hardship in the sea may also have emphasized its importance to them as the city *par excellence* of the country of Bengal.

Whatever however the location of the City of Bengala may be, there is no doubt that it had nothing to do with the old country of Vaṅgāla known to have been the kingdom of the Candra kings of East Bengal.[3]

There has been some discussion on the derivation of the

1. Quite different is the case with Meghnā (pronounced *Māgnā* in East Bengal, with the first vowel sounding like, *a* in *man*) apparently derived from the Latin word meaning 'great', which has supplanted the older name of the river.

2. It has been pointed out that Ortelius places Bengala in the same place where Hommanus places Chatigam or Chittagong. Yule refers to a chart of 1743 and concludes that Chittagong is probably identical with the City of Bengala. Campos also identifies Chittagong and Bengala. Ovington places Bengala to the south of Chittagong. In Blaev's map and Sausson's chart the city is located on the southern bank of the Karṇaphuli near about the place where Broucke places Dianga. This location is supported by Vignorla's map of 1683. But in an old map in Thevenot, the city is placed above Xatigan or Chittagong. Hosten and Majumdar think that Dianga, opposite Chittagong, represents the site of Bengala. It is also suggested that originally both Dianga and Chittagong were included in the city. Hosten identifies Dianga with a place now called Bandar on the left bank and near the mouth of the Karṇaphuli river. He also takes Dianga to have been the Porto Grande. Blochman identifies Dianga with Dakhiṇ-ḍāṅgā or Brāhmaṇ-ḍāṅgā both on the Sāṅgu river to the south of Chittagong (*I.H.Q.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 231-32 and notes). Blochman may be right, as the foreign name seems to correspond to the Bengali word *dāṅgā* which is pronounced in East Bengal as *ḍāṅgā*, with the first vowel sounding like the English *a* in *man*.

3. See aslo S. H. Hodivala in *Num. Supl.*, No. XXXIV (*J.A.S.B.*), pp. 199-121. Cf. *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. VII, pp. 407-08.

name *Bengal*.[1] But the conclusions are not satisfactory. Since the emergence of modern Hindī from its Apabhraṁśa stage, the speakers of Hindī and other languages have been calling the Bengali-speaking area by the name *Vaṅgāl* (without the final *a* in the last consonant), which has been transliterated by the English in their script as *Bengal*. The Muslims first came to India when the final *a* in the last consonant of Sanskritic words in North Indian dialects was pronounced. The earlier pronunciation of *Vaṅgāl*, as is well known, was *Vaṅgāla* which was naturally transliterated by the Muslims in their script as *Bangālah* (pronouncing *Bangāla*). This Muslim pronunciation of the name is directly responsible for the name *Bāṅgālā* now applied by the Bengalis to their country. The first *ā* in the name is comparable to the first *ā* in Bengali words like *hājār* (thousand) derived from Persian *hazār*. The change of *a* into *ā* is due to the fact that *a* pronounced outside East India resembles *ā* as pronounced by the Bengalis. The last *ā* in the name is again comparable to Bengali words like *khānā* derived from *khānah*.[2] The people of Bengal is known elsewhere in India as *Vaṅgālī* which the English transliterated as *Bengali* or *Bengalee* and which the Bengalis have made *Bāṅgālī* in their language. This word is also influenced by such Muslim words as *Kābulī*.[3] It is interesting to note in this connection that, according to a general ethnological principle, the specific name of a tribe often

1. See N. N. Das Gupta in *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 277-85.

2. Cf. also *bandah* (slave)=Bengali *bāndā*, *khajānah* (revenue)=Bengali *khājānā*, etc. Just as the word orginally spelt and pronounced in Bengali as *khājānā* has now been modified to *khājnā* (with the elision of the central *ā*), the earlier Bengali spelling and pronunciation of the name *Bāṅgālā* have now given way to the modified form *Bāṅglā* (sometimes softened into *Bāṅlā*). That, during Muslim rule, the Bengalis adopted the Muslim pronunciation of the name of their country is probably indicated by the fact that today Bengalis of any education speak, in their common speech, usually of the English *India*, *Bengal* and *Calcutta* in preference respectively to the names *Bhāratavarṣa*, *Bāṅgālā* (or *Bāṅglā* or *Bāṅlā*) and *Kalikātā*. Cf. also the popularity of the Anglicised surnames Banerji, Mukherji, etc. The introduction of a large number of Persian and Arabic words in the vocabulary during Muslim rule has further to be compared with the later adoption of numerous English words during the British period.

3. Cf. the *yā-yi nisbatī* in Persian and the corresponding Arabic suffix to from relatives (D. C. Phillott, *Higher Persian Grammar*, pp. 400 and 714-17).

originates among neighbouring tribes and is eventually adopted by the tribe to which it is applied.

To sum up the discussion, the Candra kings of South-East Bengal are sometimes represented as lords of Candra-dvīpa (Bāklā-Candradvīp in the Buckergunge region) and sometimes as lords of Vaṅgāla-deśa. This fact points to the location of Vaṅgāla in its original geographical sense in the coastal region of Southern Bengal. The connotation of the name began to expand with the expansion of the Candra kingdom of Vaṅgāla over wide areas of South-East Bengal. The name was popularised in the sense first of East Bengal, and then in that of the whole of Bengal, by the Muslims. The location of Vaṅgāla proper in the Buckergunge region near the Bay of Bengal, that is to say, in the southern part of the ancient Vaṅga country, seems to be supported by Abul Fazl's identification of Vaṅga and Vaṅgāla and his derivation of the latter name from *Vaṅga+āl* (Sanskrit *āli*) on the grounds that 'its former rulers raised mounds measuring ten yards in height and twenty in breadth throughout the province, which were called *āl*.' Although the derivation may be wrong and *Vaṅgāla* may have sprung from *Vaṅga*+the Prakrit suffix *āla* in the sense of a notable district belonging to Vaṅga,[1] we have seen that the interesting mention of the earthen mounds, primarily meant for keeping off the encroachment of sea-water from the corn-fields, refers to a condition prevailing in the Buckergunge region of the coastal area of Bengal even to-day. The name Vaṅgāla is very rarely found in records earlier than the rise of the Candras in the tenth century A.D. The mention of the name in the Goharwa inscription of Karṇa (1041-71 A.D.) in the description of the exploits of his predecessor Lakṣmaṇarāja proves its importance in the eleventh century. Of course Lakṣmaṇarāja, who is represented in the Goharwa inscription as having defeated the Vaṅgāla country or people, ruled about the middle of the tenth century when the Candra power had already been established in Vaṅgāla.[2]

1. Cf. my *Grammar of the Prakrit Language*, p. 33.

2. As has already been indicated above, the Nesarī plates of 805 A. D. suggest that the name Vaṅgāla (apparently indicating the original territory

As we have seen, the most important point in regard to the supposed existence of a 'city of Bengala' is that no such name of a great city is found in any of the numerous works of medieval Bengali literature. This question, usually ignored, has to be answered. Our answer to this question fully tallies with that of Hodivala who reached the same conclusion after throughly ransacking the available Muslim sources. In an attempt to locate the Mughal mint-town of Baṅgāla in Akbar's empire, he says, 'Briefly, there would appear to be *fairly good* grounds for thinking that *Bangāla* was not the real or fixed name of any town or city, but an alternative or honorific designation by which the *capital of the province at the time being* was known. Thus the *Bangāla* of Mun'im Khān's time *might have been* Gaur, and it is *not impossible* that during the subsequent twenty years the name was sometimes applied to Tānda. The *Bangāla* of the coins of the 39th and following years of Akbar's reign would, by parity of reasoning, be Akbarnagar."[1]

of the Pālas in the Buckergunge region) was known even in earlier times, though it does not appear to have been popular in the sense of the eastern part or the whole of Bengal before the rise of the Candras.

1. See Hodivala, *op. cit.*, p. 211. It will be seen that the mint-town of Bangāla, whence Akbar's coins were issued, could not have been situated in the Chittagong region (where the 'city of Bengala' is usually located), as that area lay outside the Mughal empire during Akbar's rule. See also A. Cortesao in *J R.A.S.B.*, Letters, Vol. XI, pp. 10-14; cf. A.B.M. Habibullah, *ibid.*, pp. 33 ff.

VII

ORISSA

Orissa is spelt *Oḍiśā* in the language of the Oriyas. This name seems to be derived from an earlier form like *Auḍrīya-vishaya* through forms like *Oḍḍī-visaa* and *Oḍī-visā*. The Tibetan author Tāranātha mentions the name as *Oḍī-viśa*.[1] The tribal name Uḍra or Oḍra lies at the root of all these forms. But Uḍra, Oḍra or Auḍra cannot be regarded as the earliest name of Orissa.

In ancient times a powerful people called the Kaliṅgas lived in the present Orissa region. In the third century B.C., the Maurya emperor Aśoka (*circa* 369-332 B.C.) conquered the Kaliṅgas and annexed the Kaliṅga country to his empire. The province of Kaliṅga in the Maurya empire was divided into two administrative units. The north-eastern part of the country had its headquarters at Tosalī (although the land around the city was later often called Tosala) which is the modern Dhauli near Bhubaneswar in the Puri District of Orissa. In a later age, kings of the Ārya-Mahāmeghavāhana family of the Chedi clan, which is represented by Khāravela, described as 'the supreme lord of Kaliṅga', appear to have had their capital at the same place. In Maurya times, South-Western Kaliṅga had its headquarters at the city of Samāpā near modern Jaugaḍa in the Ganjam District. Indian literature intimately associates Kaliṅga with the Mahendra-giri now standing on the borders of the Ganjam District of Orissa near those of the Srikakulam District of Andhra Pradesh. But there is no doubt that the Godāvarī or the Kṛṣṇā was often regarded as the south-western boundary of the Kaliṅga country. This is indicated by the fact that, about the fifth century A.D., some rulers, enjoying the title *Kaliṅg-ādhipati*, not only had their capital at Piṣṭapura, modern Pithapuram in the East Godavari District, but sometimes even claimed lordship over

1. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IV, pp. 365-66.

the whole coast land between the Kṛṣṇā and the Mahānadī.[1] Actually however, the north-eastern boundary of the ancient Kaliṅga country lay even beyond the Mahānadī, although Kaliṅga did not include the whole of modern Orissa. The north-eastern part of coastal Orissa was included in early times in the land of the Utkalas while the Patna-Sonpur region in the upper valley of the Mahānadī formed the eastern part of the country named Dakṣiṇa-Kosala till the early medieval period. But the Utkalas and some of their neighbours may have been ethnically related to the Kaliṅgas. Indeed, an ancient tradition recorded in the *Mahābhārata* and some of the Purāṇas[2] regards the progenitors of the Aṅgas of East Bihar, the Vaṅgas of South Bengal, the Kaliṅgas, the Puṇḍras of North Bengal and the Suhmas of West Bengal as co-uterine brothers. Early European writers sometimes represent the people of South Bengal (Gangaridae) as a branch of the Kaliṅga people.[3]

We have seen how the river Kṛṣṇā was sometimes regarded as the south-western boundary of the ancient Kaliṅga country. But in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D., the Śālaṅkāyanas ruling over the coast land between the Kṛṣṇā and the Godāvarī with their capital at the city of Veṅgī (modern Peddavegi near Elūru in the West Godavari District, Andhra Pradesh) did not claim to be lords of Kaliṅga. In the sixth and seventh centuries the Viṣṇukuṇḍins were ruling over the same area. They also did not claim to be rulers of the Kaliṅga country. If the identification of the *Andhr-ādhipati*, mentioned in the Haraha inscription[4] of the time of Maukhari Iśānavarman, dated V. S. 611 = 553-54 A.D., with a Viṣṇukuṇḍin monarch is accepted, the kingdom of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins was probably known as Andhra. During the second quarter of the seventh century, the Eastern Cālukyas established themselves at Piṣṭapura (Pithapuram in the East Godavari District) and ruled over the entire coast country from the Visakhapatnam District in the north-east to the Guntur District

1. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, p. 144.
2. *Mahābhārata*, I, 104, 53; *Bhāgavata*, IX, 23, 5; *Vāyu*, 99.
3. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, VI, 21 ff.
4. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 115 ff.

in the south-west for many centuries. But their kingdom became famous under the name of Veṅgī. During this period, the major portion of the Visakhapatnam District formed a part of Veṅgī, although the Yelamanchili Taluk of that District was called Elamañci-Kaliṅgadeśa. The Early Eastern Gaṅgas were ruling over the area about the Srikakulam District (Andhra Pradesh) with their capital at Kaliṅganagara, which has been identified with modern Mukhaliṅgam near Śrīkākulam, from the close of the fifth century A.D. They also enjoyed the title *Kaliṅgā-ādhipati* or lord of Kaliṅga. In the early medieval period, it is only the kingdom of these Early Eastern Gaṅgas that was exclusively known as Kaliṅga, because, as will be seen below, the kingdoms in the Ganjam-Puri-Cuttack region assumed different names such as Koṅgoda, Tosalī, Uḍra, etc., since the latter part of the sixth century A.D. With the rise of the Imperial Branch of the Eastern Gaṅgas, and especially with the conquest of the coast land between the Godāvarī and the Ganges (Bhāgīrathī) by the Imperial Gaṅga monarch Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga (1078-1147 A.D.) about the beginning of the twelfth century, the major part of ancient Kaliṅga came under the Kaliṅga king. But the old name did not get time enough to become popular again as the successors of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga soon transferred their capital to the Cuttack District (Orissa) far away from the Śrīkākulam region that had become famous under the name Kaliṅga during the many centuries' rule of the Early Eastern Gaṅgas.[1] The Eastern Gaṅgas originally lived in the present Kannaḍa-speaking area of Mysore, whence they migrated to and settled in the present Telugu-speaking area of Śrīkākulam. The Kannaḍa origin of the Eastern Gaṅgas is not only supported by the copper-plate grants of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga and his successors[2] but also by the following statement in the description of Coḍagaṅga in the *Mādalā Pāñjī*[3] :

1. The tradition recorded in Yaśodhara's commentary on the *Kāmasūtra* (VI, 6), composed about the middle of the thirteenth century (cf. Kieth, *Hist. Sans. Lit.*, p. 469), that Kaliṅga lay to the south of Gauḍa seems to be based on the Imperial Gaṅga occupation of parts of South-West Bengal.

2. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 239.

3. Ed. Mahanti, p. 23. The statement is however anachronic.

Cuḍagaṅga Karṇāṭa-desaru āsi, etc. The mother tongue of the Imperial Gaṅgas was originally Telugu. This is clearly indicated not only by the great part Telugu plays even in their later documents but also by the popularity of names like *Aniyaṅkabhīma* which was later Sanskritised as *Anaṅgabhīma* through the intermediate form *Aanaṅkabhīma*. After the transference of their capital to the heart of Orissa, the Imperial Gaṅgas began to become Oriyas; but most of their matrimonial alliances were still contracted with South Indian royal families and a large number of their officials and protégés were South Indians.

With reference to the geography of Kaliṅga, mention has to be made of the views of certain scholars based on the repeated reference to the country in the Ceylonese chronicles. Chapter 59 of the *Cūlavaṁsa* says how king Vijayabāhu I (1055-1110 A.D.) of Laṅkā married the Kaliṅga princess Trilokasundarī and offered befitting maintenances to her relations Madhukārṇava (Madhukāmārṇava ?), Bhīmarāja and Balātkāra of Siṁhapura, capital of Kaliṅga, for settling them in his kingdom. The younger sister of the Kaliṅga princes, Sundarī by name, was given in marriage to Vijayabāhu's son Vikramabāhu. In this connection, Geiger observes, "Sīhapura (Siṁhapura) is the town which according to the legend (cf. *Mhvs*, 6.35) was founded in Lāḷa (Rāḍha) by Vijaya's father Sīhabāhu. Lāḷa borders in the north of the Kaliṅga kingdom, the home of Tilokasundarī, as must be inferred from *Mhvs*, 6.1-5. The south-eastern district of Chutea Nagpur to the west of Bengal is still called Singbhum."[1] It has however to be noticed that, in the age of Vijayabāhu (actually from about the end of the sixth to at least about the begining of the twelth century), the name Kaliṅga was exclusively applied to the kingdom of the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara near Śrīkākulam, who styled themselves as *Kaliṅg-ādhipatis*. Siṁhapura (modern Singupuram in the same neighbourhood) was, however, the capital of the *Kaliṅg-ādhipatis* in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. and was no longer the capital of Kaliṅga although it may have been the residence of some scions

1. *Cūlavaṁsa*, trans., Part I, p. 211.

of the Gaṅga family. Rāḍha and Kaliṅga do not appear to have had contiguous boundaries in any period of history. Siṁhapura in Rāḍha (probably modern Singur in the Hooghly District of West Bengal) cannot be regarded as the same as the Kaliṅga capital of that name, identified with modern Siṅgupuram near Śrīkākulam. The representation of Siṁhapura as the capital of Kaliṅga in the *Mahāvaṁsa* tradition seems to be due to the fact that the chronicle was composed about the fifth century while the *Cūlavaṁsa* appears merely to have continued the same tradition even though the later capital of the country was at Kaliṅga-nagara (modern Mukhaliṅgam near Śrīkākulam) and not at Siṁhapura.

As regards the north-eastern limit of ancient Kaliṅga, a well-known passage in the Tīrtha-yātrā section of the Vanaparvan (114, 3) of the *Mahābhārata* has *eṣa Kaliṅgaḥ Kaunteya yatra Vaitaraṇī nadī*. This shows that the river Vaitaraṇī forming the eastern border of the Cuttack District of Orissa was regarded in ancient times as the boundary of the Kaliṅga country. Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa* (IV, 38) speaks of the Utkala country lying between the land of the Kaliṅgas and that of the Vaṅgas. The eastern boundary of Utkala can be determined only when we know the exact area inhabited by the Vaṅga people.

Early Greco-Roman writers represent the emperors of the Nanda and Maurya dynasties of Magadha as the rulers of the Prasii and the Gangaridae and speak of Palibothra (*i.e.* Pāṭaliputra, near modern Pāṭnā, Bihar) as the capital of the country of the Prasii. There is little doubt that the Prasii represented the *Prācyas* (*i.e.* the people of the Eastern Division of ancient Bhāratavarṣa) of Indian literature. But there is some confusion about the Gangaridae, their name being often Indianised as *Gaṅgā-rāṣṭra*, *Gaṅgā-rāḍha* and *Gaṅgā-hṛdaya*. Greek Gangaridae is however the plural form of *Gangarid* from a base like *Gange* or *Ganges*; cf. *Sasan—Sasanid—Sasanidae* ; *Akhamenes—Akhamenid—Akhamenidae*. The word *Gangaridae* therefore means 'the Gangetic people'. The land inhabited by this people is clearly indicated by the author of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (*circa* 80 A.D.) and the *Geography* of Ptolemy (*circa* 140 A.D.).

Ptolemy[1] mentions the five estuaries of the river Ganges and says, "All the region about the mouths of the Ganges is occupied by the Gangaridae with the following city—Gange, the royal city (*i.e.* the capital of the country)." It is clear from this that the Gangaridae or Gangetic people received their name from there chief city called Gange, apparently named after the river Ganges. The *Periplus* (para. 63) however applies the name Ganges not only to the river and a city standing on the bank of its principal mouth but also to the country, of which the city was apparently the capital. This book says about the country called Ganges that 'there is a river near it called the Ganges' and that 'on its bank is a market-town which has the same name as the river Ganges'. The principal product of this country is stated to have been the Gangetic muslin which reminds us not only of the world-wide celebrity of the Dacca muslin in the medieval age but also of the *dukūla*, *kauśika*, *patrorṇa* and *prāvara* mentioned in the Sabhāparvan of the *Mahābhārata* as presents made to Yudhiṣṭhira by the Vaṅgas, Kaliṅgas, Tāmaliptas and Puṇḍras of Eastern India.[2] But a people called Gāṅga or Gāṅgeya inhabiting Lower Bengal and having their capital at a city called Gaṅgā (Greek *Gange* or *Ganges*) is not known from ancient Indian literature. This powerful people, known to foreign writers from the fourth century B.C. to the second century A. D., were apparently known to the Indians by a different name. Curiously enough Kālidāsa, who flourished in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D., locates the Vaṅga people, well-known in ancient Indian literature, exactly in the same region where the Gangaridae or Gangetic people are placed by the early European writers. Canto IV (verses 36-37) of his *Raghuvaṁśa* describes how Raghu defeated the Vaṅgas in a naval battle and raised pillars of victory in what is called *Gaṅgā-sroto-ntara* no doubt in the land of the defeated people. The expression *Gaṅgā-sroto-ntareshu* has been explained by the celebrated commentator Mallinātha as *Gaṅgāyāḥ srotasāṁ pravāhānām=antareṣu dvīpeṣu.*[3] Thus the country of the Vaṅgas is located by Kālidāsa in the

1. *Geog.*, VII, I. 18 and 81.
2. See Motichandra, *Geog. Ec. Stud. Mahābh.*, pp. 112-13.
3. See above, p. 124, note 6; below, Ch. XI (p. 172 ff.).

deltaic region of Southern Bengal, which is intersected by the mouths of the river Ganges. This further proves that the Vaṅga people were identical with the Gangaridae who, according to the Greco-Roman writers, lived in the region about the mouths of the Ganges and had their chief city about the confluence of the Ganges and the Bay of Bengal. The modern representative of this ancient city seems to be the holy place at the junction of the Gaṅgā and the Sāgara, called Sāgara or Gaṅgā-sāgara. The name *Gaṅgā*, suggested by the early Greco-Roman writers, may be regarded as an *eka-deśa* of the name *Gaṅgā-sāgara*.[1] The name Vaṅga, originally applied to the wide areas of Southern Bengal, came in the medieval age to be confined to the eastern parts of that region together with the adjoining areas. But later the name came to be used to indicate the whole of Bengal.

The above discussion will show that in the early centuries of the Christian era, the Vaṅgas lived in the deltaic region of Southern Bengal watered by the mouths of the Ganges and had their capital at the city of Gaṅgā near the junction of the Bhāgīrathī and the Bay of Bengal and that Gaṅgā-sāgar is the modern representative of the ancient capital of the Vaṅgas. After the name of the capital, the country was also often called Gaṅgā. Early European writers mention the Vaṅgas as the Gaṅgaridae, *i.e.* the Gāṅga or Gāṅgeya people. The Greek name of the Vaṅgas seems to be the result of a confusion the foreigners made between the sounds of the two names *Vaṅgāḥ* and *Gaṅgā*. The identification of the Vaṅgas and the Gangaridae and the location of their habitat are clearly indicated by the evidence supplied by Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa*, the *Geography* of Ptolemy and the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*. Ptolemy and Kālidāsa place the Cambyson or Kapiśā river, identified with the present Kaśāi running through the Midnapur District (West Bengal), about the western border of the country of the Gangaridae or Vaṅga people. This is supported by the Jain *Prajñāpanā*, according to which Tāmralipti in the present Tamluk region of Midnapur once formed a part of the Vaṅga country.[2]

1. See *Proc. I.H.C.*, Bombay, 1947, pp. 91 ff., and below, Ch. XI, (p. 172 ff.).
2. Raychaudhuri, *Stud. Ind. Ant.*, p. 186.

It appears therefore that the Cambyson or Kapiśā, *i.e.*, the modern Kaśāi, roughly formed the boundary between the land of the Vaṅgas and that of the Utkalas. Thus it may be said that the Utkala country lay between the Kaśāi and the Vaitaraṇī rivers. Roughly speaking therefore, Utkala comprised the present Balasore District of Orissa together with parts of the Cuttack District of that State and of the Midnapur District of West Bengal. The Puri, Ganjam and Cuttack Districts of Orissa then formed parts of the north-eastern area of the Kaliṅga country.

A copper-plate inscription[1] was discovered at Sumandala near Khallikot in the Ganjam District. It records the grant of a piece of land in the Khallikot area by a chief named Dharmarāja in 569 A.D. The said chief acknowledged the suzerainty of a king named Pṛthivīvigraha who is stated to have been ruling the Kaliṅga *rāṣṭra* as a nominal feudatory of the Gupta emperors. This inscription shows beyond doubt that the south-western part of coastal Orissa enjoyed the ancient name of Kaliṅga as late as the second half of the sixth century A.D. Soon however the name of the kingdom of the Vigraha dynasty, to which Pṛthivīvigraha belonged, had to be changed.

Another copper-plate inscription[2] of the Vigraha dynasty has been discovered in a locality in the Puri District. The inscription records the gift of a village situated in Dakṣiṇa-Tosalī in 599 A.D. by an independent monarch named Lokavigraha who was apparently one of the successors of Pṛthivīvigraha of the Sumandala plates. By this time, all vestiges of Gupta suzerainty in Orissa were a thing of the past. But what is more important is that Lokavigraha's kingdom has been mentioned in the epigraph as Tosalī and not as Kaliṅga while he is represented as granting a village in South Tosalī. This shows that Lokavigraha was not only holding sway over Dakṣiṇa-Tosalī but that he also claimed the lordship of Uttara-Tosalī, *i. e.* North Tosalī. The inscriptions of the Bhauma-Karas of a later age make it clear that the ancient Utkala country in the

1. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 79-85.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 328 ff.

Balasore region was roughly known as Uttara-Tosalī while Dakṣiṇa-Tosalī comprised the Ganjam-Puri-Cuttack area. We have to determine the reason leading to the introduction of these names about the second half of the sixth century. This however does not appear to be entirely unintelligible from what we know of the history of Orissa in the period in question.

As already indicated above, shortly before 500 A.D. the Gaṅgas founded a kingdom about the present Srikakulam District of Andhra Pradesh. They assumed the title of *Kaliṅg-ādhipati*, 'lord of Kaliṅga', and had their capital at the city of Kaliṅganagara situated in the vicinity of modern Śrīkākulam. The Vigrahas were holding sway over the Ganjam-Puri-Cuttack area lying immediately to the north-east of the Gaṅga kingdom. Naturally they wanted a new name for their own kingdom to avoid confusion. The new name of their kingdom, *viz.*, Tosalī, seems to have been coined after the name of their capital city. That is to say, the Vigrahas probably had their capital at the ancient city of Tosalī *i. e.* the modern Dhauli in the Puri District. The name Tosalī was also extended to the ancient Utkala country probably due to the expansion of Vigraha power over that area. These facts appear to supply the reason underlying the renaming of the south-western part of coastal Orissa as Dakṣiṇa-Tosalī and the application of the alternative name Uttara-Tosalī to the country of the Utkalas. The names Uttara-Tosalī and Dakṣiṇa-Tosalī were popular in the age of the Bhauma-Karas who flourished between the ninth and eleventh centuries. Later however the name Tosalī lost its popularity and the names Utkala and Uḍra, Oḍra or Auḍra gradually came to be applied to the whole of coastal Orissa and ultimately to the entire Oriya-speaking area.

We have seen how the Utkalas lived in the present Balasore District and its neighbourhood. But the original habitat of the Uḍras cannot be determined. They are not mentioned in very early works. Some manuscripts of the *Manusmṛti* (about the third century A.D.; cf. X, 44) no doubt mention the Uḍras; but many manuscripts of the work read in its place the name of

the Aṅgas or Cholas,[1] and either of these two may have been the original reading. The *Nāṭyaśāstra* ascribed to Bharata-muni mentions the people or land called Uḍra; but the work in its present form does not appear to be much earlier than the sixth century A.D.[2] Whatever the antiquity of the name Uḍra may be, it is sometimes used to indicate the whole of coastal Orissa from the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. Probably the Uḍras originally lived in the land lying to the north of the ancient Utkala country. The conquest of Utkala by a king of the Uḍra country may have led to the use of *Uḍra* as a synonym of *Utkala* and the extension of the power of a king of this Uḍra-Utkala region over the south-western part of coastal Orissa at a later date may have been at the root of the use of both the names to indicate the whole of coastal Orissa. The known facts of early Orissan history appear to support this conjecture.

According to a copper-plate inscription[3] discovered at Soro in the Balasore District, in 579 A.D. Uttara-Tosalī, *i.e.* ancient Utkala, was under the rule of a *Mahārāja* named Śaṁbhuyaśas, who belonged to the Mudgala or Maudgalya *gotra*. Another inscription[4] of the same monarch, viz. *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* Śaṁbhuyaśas, which was found at Patiakella in the Cuttack District, says that in 602 A.D. his feudatory, *Mahārāja* Śivarāja, was ruling in Dakṣiṇa-Tosalī. This record suggests further that the king Śambhuyaśas, ruler of both Uttara° and Dakṣiṇa-Tosalī, *i.e.* the entire coastal region of Orissa, was born in the Māna family. The name of the present Mānbhūm or Mānabhūmi seems to have been derived from the rulers of this Māna family, also known from a few other records. The Bhauma-Kara monarch Śāntikara II (middle of the tenth century) is known to have married Hīrāmahādevī who was the daughter of king Siṁhamāna probably belonging to the same family as Śaṁbhuyaśas. The Mānas

1. Jha, *Mansumṛiti—Notes*, Part I, p. 465.
2. Varāhamihira's *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* (XIV), composed about the first quarter of the 6th century, mentions the Uḍra people.
3. *Ep.Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 201 f.
4. *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, pp. 287 f.

appear to have been ruling over the present Mānbhūm-Singbhūm region together with the adjacent areas of Orissa.[1]

We have seen how in 569 A.D. Pṛthivīvigraha was ruling over Kaliṅga, *i. e.* the north-eastern areas of Kaliṅga roughly identical with the later Dakṣiṇa-Tosalī, and how in 599 A.D. Lokavigraha, another monarch of the same family, not only ruled over South Tosalī but also claimed lordship over North Tosalī. It has also been shown how *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* Śaṁbhuyaśas belonging to the Mudgala *gotra* and the Māna family ruled over Uttara-Tosalī in 579 A. D. and over Dakṣiṇa-Tosalī in 602 A.D. It is clear from these facts that in the latter half of the sixth century there was a struggle between the Vigrahas and the Mānas for the sovereignty of coastal Orissa and that the Vigrahas, who were at first ruling over the whole of Tosalī, both Uttara and Dakṣiṇa, were gradually ousted by the Mānas, first from Uttara-Tosalī and then from Dakṣiṇa-Tosalī. In this way, the whole of coastal Orissa came under the suzerainty of the Mānas about the beginning of the seventh century. If these Mānas may be regarded as belonging to the Uḍra clan, we can explain the popularity of the name Uḍra in the sense of the whole of coastal Orissa from the sixth or seventh century. The fact that they conquered Utkala or Uttara-Tosalī sometime before the exapansion of their power over Dakṣiṇa-Tosalī may be the reason underlying the use of *Uḍra* as a synonym of *Utkala* first in the sense of the Balasore region and then to indicate of the Cuttack-Puri-Ganjam area. If the Māna family belonged to the Uḍra clan, it may be supposed

1. It is not impossible that they had their capital at the city of Khijjiṅga, modern Khiching in the northern part of the Mayurbhanj District of Orissa (cf. *Indo-Asian Culture*, Vol.VIII, 1958, pp. 429-30). R.P. Chanda was inclined to assign the earliest antiquities discovered at Khiching to the age of the Ādi-Bhañjas who began to rule from about the beginning of the eleventh century A. D. J. N. Banerjea assigns some of these sculptures to the tenth century and others vaguely to the early medieval period. There is little doubt that some Khiching sculptures are earlier than the eleventh century and this fact shows that Khiching was the seat of some pre-Ādi-Bhañja rulers, since the excellent art of Khiching could have scarcely flourished without royal patronage. We have now inscriptions of the pre-Ādi-Bhañja rulers, Dhruvarāja and Kumāravarman, who ruled in the area in the tenth century A. D. Cf. *Ep.Ind.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 82 ff.

that the Uḍras originally lived in the Mānbhūm-Singhbhūm region and the adjoining parts of Orissa.

In the first quarter of the seventh century, the greatest monarch in Eastern India was Śaśāṅka, king of Gauḍa, who had his capital at Karṇasuvarṇa, near modern Murshidabad in West Bengal. He ousted Māna rule from Orissa and extended his suzerainty as far as Koṅgoda about the borders between the Districts of Puri and Ganjam. In the second quarter of the seventh century, the king of Gauḍa, probably a successor of Śaśāṅka, was disastrously defeated by Harṣavardhana of Kanauj and his ally, Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa. As a result of this humiliation of the Gauḍa king, his Śailodbhava feudatories in Koṅgoda declared their independence while his Datta feudatories in the Balasore-Cuttack region began to rule semi-independently. Some inscriptions of Somadatta and Bhānudatta of this Datta dynasty have been discovered. It seems that the dominions of these Dattas have been described as Uḍra by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-tsang who visited Orissa about 638 A.D. His accounts appear to suggest that the pilgrim applied the name Uḍra to the Balasore-Cuttack-Puri region. King Harṣavardhana, who now probably regarded the Gauḍa king as his subordinate ally, invaded Koṅgoda in 643 A. D. in order to punish the Śailodbhavas on behalf of the Gauḍa monarch.

During the eighth century A.D., the Śailodbhavas continued their independent rule in Koṅgoda in the Puri-Ganjam region. But the political condition of the Balasore-Cuttack area in this age is not quite clear. According to Chinese evidence, a Buddhist king having a name like Śubhaṅkarasiṁha ruled over the Uḍra country in 795 A.D. He seems to have been a contemporary of the Later Śailodbhavas of the Ganjam-Puri area and ruled over the Cuttack-Balasore region. In 831 A.D., the Bhauma-Karas established their capital at the ancient city of Virajā which is the modern Jājpur (Yāyapura or Yājapura). They founded a new city called Guheśvarapāṭaka or Guhadevapāṭaka in the suburbs of Jājpur and this remained the Bhauma-Kara capital till the end of Bhauma-Kara rule in the eleventh century. It

was apparently the Bhauma-Karas who overthrew Śailodbhava rule from Koṅgoda which now formed a part of Dakṣiṇa-Tosalī.

The Somavaṁśīs established their power in the Patna-Sonpur region in the upper Mahānadī valley in the tenth century. The Somavaṁśī king Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya (*circa* 935-70 A.D.) issued most of his charters from Suvarṇapura (Sonpur). His son and successor, Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I (*circa* 970-1000 A.D.) transferred his capital to the new city of Yayātinagara (modern Binka) built by and named after himself. In the second quarter of the eleventh century, the Somavaṁśī king Mahāśivagupta Yayāti III Caṇḍīhara (*circa* 1025-60 A.D.) extended his power over the coastal regions of Orissa. The story of the transference of the lordship of that region from the Bhauma-Karas to the Somavaṁśīs is not clearly known.[1] But there is little doubt that Yayāti III built a city, named Yayātinagara after himself, in the erstwhile Bhauma-Kara kingdom. This city is mentioned in the *Mādalā Pāñjī* as Abhinava-Yayātinagara (i.e. the *new* Yayātinagara) in its description of the Gaṅga kings who conquered coastal Orissa from the Somavaṁśīs but had originally little to do with the upper valley of the Mahānadī. The Gaṅga king Anaṅgabhīma III seems to be described in this work[2] as *Abhinava-Yayātinagara-Viṣṇu*. The Muslim authors of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries mentioned the Gaṅga kingdom as Jājnagar (no doubt a corruption of the name *Yayātinagara*) apparently after the Abhinava-Yayātinagara of the *Mādalā Pāñjī*, which seems to have continued to remain the capital of coastal Orissa under the Gaṅgas for some time.

About the beginning of the twelfth century A.D., the Gaṅga king Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga (1078-1147 A.D.) of Kaliṅganagara conquered the Puri-Cuttack-Balasore region from the Somavaṁśīs. There is evidence to show that his descendants later transferred the Gaṅga capital to Cuttack. According to the Nagari plates[3] of Anaṅgabhīma III (*circa* 1211-38 A.D.), great-grandson of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga, that king had

1. See *The Struggle for Empire*, pp. 209-10.
2. Ed. Mahanti, p. 28.
3. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 235 ff.

his headquarters at Abhinava-Vārāṇasī-kaṭaka, i.e. the present Barabati area of Cuttack. The *Mādalā Pāñjī* seems to suggest that Anaṅgabhīma III at first had been residing at Chaudvāra-kaṭaka and later transferred his capital to Vārāṇasī-kaṭaka built by himself on the site of the village of Barabati on the opposite bank of the Mahānadī. As the *Mādalā Pāñjī* uses the name Abhinava-Yayātinagara in the description of this king, it may be supposed that it was the earlier name of Cuttack, which was therefore the source of the name Jājnagar used by the Muslim writers of the early medieval period to indicate the Gaṅga kingdom covering coastal Orissa. But it seems to us that Abhinava-Yayātinagara or Jājnagar should better be identified with modern Jājpur. This is because Jājpur seems to be a corruption of the name Yayātipura which is again practically the same as Yayātinagara, both meaning 'the city of Yayāti'. That Jājpur was once the headquarters of the Imperial Gaṅgas seems to be supported by the following tradition in the description of Anaṅgabhīma in some manuscripts of the *Mādalā Pāñjī* : *rājā Yājapuranagara chaudvāre Kaṭake vije kari thānti.*[1] In the description of the occupation of the Kesarī (i.e. Somavaṁśī) kingdom by Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga also we have the passage : *Yājapura Kaṭake praveśa hoilā.*[2]

We have seen that the Bhauma-Kara emperors had their capital at Virajā, i.e. the modern Jājpur, in the suburbs of which they built their new capital named Guheśvarapāṭaka or Guhadevapāṭaka. In the rule of coastal Orissa, these Bhauma-Karas were succeeded by the Somavaṁśī king Mahāśivagupta Yayāti III Caṇḍīhara. It is possible to think that Yayāti III retained the headquarters of this newly acquired territory at its old capital and that it was he who renamed Guheśvarapāṭaka or Guhadevapāṭaka after himself as Yayātinagara or Yayātipura. The very name of modern Jājpur (*Yayātipura* > *Yayāipura* > *Yāyaïpura* > *Yāyipura* > *Jājpur*) appears to support this conjecture. It seems that the capital of coastal Orissa was retained at the same city for

1. Mahanti, *op. cit.*, p. 34.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 22.

some time even after the overthrow of Somavaṁśī rule from that area by the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara. If the Gaṅga conquerors of coastal Orissa ruled the country from Yayātinagara or Yayātipura, i.e. modern Jājpur, before the transference of its headquarters to the Cuttack region, we can easily explain why the Muslim writers of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries mentioned the kingdom of the Gaṅgas in Orissa as Jājnagar (Yayātinagara).

About 1360 A.D., during the reign of the Gaṅga king Bhānu III (*circa* 1352-78 A.D.), Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh of the Tughluk dynasty of Delhi led an expedition against the Gaṅga capital. An account of this expedition is found in the *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī* by Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afif. In this work, the kingdom of the Gaṅga monarch has been called Jājnagar but his capital has been mentioned as Vārāṇasī, i.e. Vārāṇasī-kaṭaka which is the present Barabati area of Cuttack.[1] It seems that, if the earlier name of Cuttack was Yayātinagara and if that was the reason for the early Muslim writers applying the name Jājnagar to the Gaṅga kingdom, Shams-i-Sirāj would not have used two different names to indicate the capital and kingdom of the Gaṅga king without any comment. Indeed it becomes rather difficult in that case to understand why he uses the new name for the city but its old name to indicate the kingdom of which it was the capital. The description of the Gaṅga capital and kingdom in the *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī* seems to suggest that Jājnagar as the name of the Gaṅga kingdom had nothing to do with Vārāṇasī or Cuttack which was then its capital.

Muslim rule was established in the western and northern parts of Bengal about the beginning of the thirteenth century. From that time, the Muslim rulers of Bengal often led expeditions against the Gaṅga kingdom. This may have been the cause underlying the transference of the Gaṅga capital from Jājnagar or Jājpur, which was nearer the borders of the Muslim territories of Bengal, to Cuttack which lay further away. But the Muslim writers appear to have

1. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 247-48.

continued the use of the name Jājnagar to indicate the Gaṅga kingdom for some time even after the transference of the Gaṅga headquarters from the city of that name. The name Kaṭaka or Cuttack suggests that it was originally a camping ground of the Gaṅga king's forces. It is not impossible that the story of the Gaṅga king's attempt to check Muslim aggression from the east is hidden under this name of the new capital of his kingdom.[1]

1. At p. 145 above, we have referred to a king of Wu-ch'a (Uḍra) whom the Chinese called 'the fortunate monarch who does what is pure, the lion' (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol XV, p. 363). A king of Orissa named Śubhakarasiṁha, who became a Buddhist monk, is said to have left India in 715 A. D. and reached China the following year when he was eighty years of age (A. Getty, *Ganeśa*, pp. 73-74).

VIII

DAŚĀRṆA, AŚMAKA AND KUNTALA

A

Our attention has been drawn to a verse contained in Lakṣmīdhara's *Kṛtyakalpataru*, which refers to a pious lady named Vasundharā who was the daughter of a certain Vikrama and was an inhabitant of Daśārṇa.[1] In this connection, several suggestions have been offered; but none of them is supported by any evidence or argument of any kind. Vikrama has been identified with Candragupta II Vikramāditya and Vasundharā with Prabhāvatīguptā, daughter of Candragupta II and queen of Vākāṭaka Rudrasena II. We wonder why the daughter of any person of the name of Vikrama has to be identified with the only known daughter of only one of the numerous Vikramas known to history.

The suggestion that the Vākāṭaka territory was known as Daśārṇa which is identified with the Chattisgarh division of M.P. as well as the reference to '*Vijaya-Daśanapura* in the Andhra country mentioned in some inscriptions as the capital of a Vākāṭaka principality' in Jayaswal's *History of India*, p. 136, is also untenable. Here is a clear case of the *andha-paramparā-nyāya*, as Daśanapura, mentioned as a seat of government of the Early Pallavas (who, it should be noted, ruled contemporaneously with the Vākāṭakas) and identified by scholars with modern Darsi in the Nellore District, had absolutely nothing to do with the Vākāṭakas. As a matter of fact, there is not the slightest evidence of Vākāṭaka rule in the Chattisgarh region of M. P., the ancient name of which was, moreover, Kosala (South Kosala) and never Daśārṇa. From numerous references to Daśārṇa in Indian literature,[2] it is clear that it was one of the old names of East Malwa and the adjoining region, with its capi-

1. See D. B. Diskalkar in *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XX, 1944, pp. 367-68.
2. Cf., *e.g.*, *Meghadūta*, 24-25.

at Vidiśā (modern Besnagar near Bhilsa, Madhya Pradesh) and with the rivers Daśārṇā (modern Dhasan) and Vetravatī (modern Betwa) running through it.

In this connection, the attention of scholars may be drawn to another almost equally unjustifiable theory that the Vākāṭaka territory was known as Kuntala.[1] It is easy to show that the heart of the Vākāṭaka kingdom corresponded to the ancient *janapada* of Vidarbha (modern Berar and the adjoining regions) where most of the records of the family have been discovered. The founder of the Vākaṭaka family seems to have had something to do with East Malwa and the Vindhyan region and a few other early members of the main branch of the family probably held sway over parts of Central India (especially Bundelkhand) before the extension of Gupta power in that area.[2] But the capital of a branch of the Vākāṭaka line was at the city of Vatsagulma, modern Basim in the Akola District, while the main branch of the family ruled from a place not very far away from modern Nāgpur.[3] The Vākāṭaka kings reigned in Vidarbha from the second half of the third century to the first half of the sixth. They were not only responsible for some of the magnificent caves at Ajaṇṭā; but it was apparently at their court that the celebrated Vaidarbhī *rīti* or the Berar style of Sanskrit composition originated and flourished and was recognised by the author of the *Kāvyādarśa* as the best style as early as the seventh century A.D. We have elsewhere suggested that the other important style known as the *Gauḍī rīti* has to be associated with the court of the dynasty of Gauḍa kings represented by Gopacandra and Śaśāṅka.[4]

In connection with the name Daśārṇa, it is interesting to note that the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*[5] places 'the region of Dosarene yielding the ivory known as Dosarenic' towards the east of Masalia (i.e. the country around Masulipatam in Andhra).

1. Cf. *The Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, 1939, pp. 253, note.
2. Cf. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 217.
3. See *The Classical Age*, pp. 181-82, 185.
4. Cf. above, pp. 115 ff. For the *Udīcya*, *Pratīcya*, *Dākṣiṇātya* and *Gauḍa* styles of composition, see also Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita*, I, 7.
5. See Schoff's trans., p. 47.

Ptolemy mentions the city of Dosara[1] apparently as the metropolis of this land. He locates Dosara in the land of the Kokkonagai who lived to the west of the country watered by the mouths of the Ganges. Some scholars trace the Indian name Daśārṇa in Dosarene.[2] But it is impossible to locate the places mentioned by the Greek authors outside modern Orissa. It seems that *Dosara* is a modification of the Indian name *Tosala* (the same as *Tosalī* or *Tosalā*), identified with modern Dhauli in the Puri District. The early times, Tosalī was the capital of the Kaliṅga country.

B

A Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler named Mānāṅka (who seems to have originally been a *rāṣṭrakūṭa* or provincial governor) is known from the Undikavatika grant[3] of his great-grandson Abhimanyu who resided at Mānapura. He has been identified with king Mānāṅka, grandfather of Avidheya who issued the Pandurangapalli grant discovered in the neighbourhood of Kolhapur. There is reason to believe that the territories over which these rulers held away lay in the Kolhapur region and the adjoining area of the South Marāṭhā country, and Prof. Mirashi may be right in identifying their capital with Man in the Satara District. Rāṣṭrakūṭa Bibhurāja of the Hingniberdi plates, Dejja-mahārāja of the Gokak plates, Govindarāja, son of Śivarāja, who is known from the Naravana grant of 743 A.D. of the time of Vikramāditya II and seems to have been the subordinate ruler of a territory in the Satara-Ratnagiri region, may have been scions of this family.[4] The land ruled by this family seems to have been known as 'Māna's territory.'[5]

The Pandurangapalli charter[6] appears to describe Mānāṅka,

1. *Geography*, VIII, 1, 77.
2. Cf. *JAS*, Letters, Vol. XVI, p. 266 ; Schoff, *The Periplus*, trans., p. 253.
3. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 165 f.
4. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 174 ff. ; Vol. XXI, pp. 289 ff.; *The Classical Age*, p. 199. Ś varāja's son Govindarāja is described as the grandson of Nannappa in the Salem plates (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 145 ff.).
5. See below, p. 159.
6. Cf. *A.B.O.R.I*, Vol. XXV, pp. 36 ff.

who probably flourished in the latter half of the fifth century, as the conqueror of Vidarbha and Aśmaka and also as the chastiser (*praśāsitā*) of the Kuntalas. The Kuntala people under reference were no doubt the Kadambas of Vanavāsī (Banavāsi), whose territories comprised the North Karnara District and parts of Mysore, Belgaum and Dharwar. In the inscriptions of the Later Kadambas, the progenitor of the Kadamba family (sometimes called Mayūravarman, but in some cases Mukkana or Trilocana Kadamba) is represented as the ruler of the Kuntala country which is described as the land round the capital city of Banavāsi in the North Kanara District. The country of Vidarbha lay on both sides of the river Varadā (modern Wardha, a tributary of the Godāvarī) according to the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, and roughly correspeonded to the major part of Berar and the western part of M. P. Its ancient capital was at the city of Kuṇḍina which has been identified with modern Kauṇḍinyapura on the Wardha in the Chandur Taluk of the Amraoti District of Berar. The city of Padmapura which was the birth-place of the poet Bhavabhūti and was situated in the Vidarbha country in Dakṣiṇāpatha, has been rightly identified with modern Padampur near the Amgaon railway station in the Bhandara District of M. P. Vidarbha therefore included at least the Amraoti region in the west and the Bhandara area in the east. Epigraphic evidence shows that, about the time of Mānāṅka, the above land was entirely in the possession of kings belonging to the main branch of the Vākāṭaka family that had its headquarters near modern Nāgpur. Thus it will be seen that the Pandurangapalli grant seems to represent Mānāṅka of the south Marāṭhā country as having fought successfully with the Kadambas of Kuntala and the Vākāṭakas of Vidarbha.

But who were the Aśmakas, also mentioned in connection with the victorious campaigns of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler? It appears to us that the Aśmakas under reference are no other than the Vākāṭakas of Vatsagulma which is mentioned separately from Vidarbha in the *Kāmasūtra* (V, 5,33-34). The capital city of this branch of the Vākāṭaka family has been identified with modern Basim in the Akola District about the southern fringe of Berar;

but their dominions certainly included the Ajanta region in the Aurangabad District and very probably also Nāndīkaṭa, identified with the Nander District, both in the northern part of the old Hyderabad State. The Vākāṭakas of Vatsagulma therefore ruled over the southernmost region of Berar and the northern part of old Hyderabad, and the ancient Aśmaka country has been located by scholars precisely in this region.[1]

The *Pārāyaṇa*, incorporated in the *Suttanipāta*, speaks of a sage named Bāvari who was an inhabitant of Śrāvasti but settled 'in the country of Aśmaka, in the vicinity of Mūlaka, on the bank of the Godāvarī'.[2] While describing the journey of Bāvari's disciples from the sage's hermitage in Aśmaka to a locality in Northern India, the same work says that the first place reached was Pratiṣṭhāna (modern Paiṭhan on the Godāvarī in the Aurangabad District) which was the capital of the Mūlaka country; the men are said to have next reached Māhiṣmatī on the Narmadā, and then Ujjayinī outside the limits of Dakṣiṇāpatha. This shows that the Aśmaka country lay immediately to the south of Mūlaka which is the Paiṭhan region of the Aurangabad District. The ancient capital of the Aśmaka country was, according to the *Mahābhārata*, at the city of Paudanya which is known as *Potana* (< *Podanna* < *Paudanya*) in the Pali literature. A variant of the form *Potana* is *Potali* which seems to be a mistake for *Potaṇa* or *Potaṇi* (cf. the striking similarily between the forms of the two letters *l* and *ṇ* at some stages of development), the latter being a possible corruption of *Paudanya* through another intermediate form *Podaniya*.[3] Raychaudhuri identifies Paudanya with modern Bodhan near the Godāvarī in the Nizamabad District abutting on the Nander District in the old Hyderabad State. In a narrow sense therefore the Aśmaka country may be identified with the Nander-Nizamabad region of Andhra Pradesh and the adjoining area. In ancient

1. Cf. *P. H. A. I.*, pp. 76, 21-22; *N. H. I. P.*, Vol. VI, p. 88; *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. IX, iii, p. 1 ff.

2. See the Chapter on Gonarda (Ch. XVI) below, pp. 206 ff.

3. Cf. *śākya* > *śākiya* > *śāki*; *mūlya* > *muliya* > *muli*; *ārogya* > *ārogyia* > *arogi*, etc. in my *Gram. Prak. Lang.*, p. 23.

literature, however, Aśmaka is often represented as including Mūlaka, i.e. the Paiṭhan area of the Aurangabad District, and as abutting on Kaliṅga (roughly speaking, the coastal land between the Mahānadī and the Godāvarī), Vidarbha, Aparānta (the Northern Konkan) and Avanti, doubtless the celebrated Avanti-Dakṣiṇāpatha with its capital at Māhiṣmatī on the Narmadā, identified with Mandhata in the Nimar District or Maheswar in the former Indore State. This wider sense must have been in the mind of Bhaṭṭasvāmin when he identified Aśmaka with Mahārāṣṭra, i.e. the Marāṭhā country. But the heart of this land appears to have been the northern districts of old Hyderabad inlcuding naturally the southernmost region of Berar. The heart of the ancient Aśmaka country thus seems to have corresponded to the dominions of the Vākāṭakas of Vatsagulma. Rāṣṭrakūṭa Mānāṅka therefore claimed victory not only over the Kadambas of Kuntala and the Vākāṭakas of Vidarbha, but also over the Vatsagulma branch of the Vākāṭaka dynasty of Aśmaka.

C

There have been some comments[1] on our views regarding the identification of the Kuntala and Aśmaka countries.[2] An attempt has been made to prove that 'Kuntala in ancient times did not comprise only the North Kanara District and parts of Mysore, Belgaon and Dharwar Districts as stated by Dr. Sircar but that it extended much further to the north so as to include what we now call the Southern Marāṭhā Country.' Unfortunately it has not been noticed that practically the same view has been expressed by many other writers including Fleet[3] and ourselves.[4] The fact is that where other scholars would locate, according to evidence, the Kuntala country proper in the heart of the Kanarese area and distinguish between that land and the later empire (often called Kuntala) of the imperial Kuntala or Karṇāta (*i.e.* Kanarese) dynasties, our critic would place Kuntala proper

1. See V. V. Mirashi in *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 309-15.
2. Cf. *Ibid.* p. 233 ff.
3. *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part ii, p. 431.
4. *Suc. Sāt.*, p. 215. Cf. below, p. 192 and note 1.

in the Marāṭhā country and would not distinguish the essential Kuntala country from the gigantic Kuntala or Kanarese empire of later times. If, in the days of Warren Hastings, the Banaras District formed a part of Bengal, would it justify any one to identify Bengal with Banāras or to locate Bengal in Banāras? The name Vaṅgāla (Bengal) originally indicated a small district in Southern Bengal; it was later used to signify the whole country comprising such ancient lands as Vaṅga, Samataṭa, Suhma, Tāmralipta, Gauḍa and Puṇḍravardhana. Can we locate the ancient Vaṅgāla country in any part of later Vaṅgāla (Bengal) It will be clear we like ?

Most of the questions raised in this connection were already answered in our *Successors of the Sātavāhanas* referred to above. from the following quotations from that work :

"Cf. a record of A.D. 1077......... : 'In the centre of that middle world is the golden mountain to the south of which is the Bhārata land in which, like the curls of the lady earth, shines the Kuntala country to which an ornament.........is Banavāsi.' Some other inscriptions also prove that Kuntala was the district round Banavāsi."[1]

"Kuntala and Karṇāṭa are used as synonymous in the *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* by Bilhaṇa.[2] Vikramāditya VI has been called both *Kuntalendu* (or, *Kuntalendra*) and *Karṇāṭendu*...... Vaijayantī, identified with Banavāsi, has been described as a *tilaka* (that is to say, the capital) of the Karṇāṭa country in the Birur grant of Viṣṇuvarman......Karṇāṭa therefore signified the same territory as Kuntala or the country of which Kuntala formed a part....... The separate mention of Kuntala, Karṇāṭa

1. The tradition about Banavāsi having been the capital of the Kuntala country was remembered even after the foundation of the Kuntala-Karṇāṭa (Kanarese) empire. For a tenth century record mentioning the Kuntala king residing at *Vanavāsa*, indicating the city as well as 'exile', see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, p.132. It has to be remembered that, in the age in question, the capital of the said empire was at Mālkheḍ in the old Hyderabad State.

2. Note that the Cālukyas of Badami (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p.88, etc.) and Kalyāṇa (*ibid.*, Vol. V, p.16, etc.) were regarded as kings of Kuntala, while the Cālukya army was called the Karṇāṭaka *bala* (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 112, etc.). In Cola records like the Kanyākumāri inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p.27; vv. 69, 76), the Cālukya enemies of Rājendra I are mentioned as lords of the Kuntalas, while the insciiptions of Vīrarājendra mention them as kings of the Karṇāṭa family.

Banavāsi, Māhiṣaka (cf. Mahiṣa-viṣaya in a Kadamba grant), etc., in some of the traditional lists may possibly refer to the fact that these names originally signified separate geographical units abutting on one another. Sometimes however one of them may have formed the part of another ; cf. the case of Tamralipta which is mentioned in literature as an independent state, as a part of Suhma and also as a part of Vaṅga ; also the case of Taxila (Raychaudhuri, *Stud. Ind. Ant.*, pp. 186 f.). With the rise of Kanarese powers like the Cālukyas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, the name Karṇāṭa (sometimes also the name Kuntala) extended over a large part of the Western and Southern Deccan. In the *Kaliṅgattu-paraṇi*, the Cālukyas have been described as the *Kuntalar*, 'lords of Kuntala' (literally, 'the Kuntalas,' indicating their Kanarese origin).... An inscription of Harihara II dated in Śaka 1307 ......says that Vijayanagara (modern Hampi in the Bellary District) belonged to the Kuntala *viṣaya* of the Karṇāta country."

Only a few words are required now to be added to the above. As Vidarbha and Vatsagulma are separately mentioned in the *Kāmasūtra*, our critic thinks that the former included the latter and that they are separately mentioned according to the Māṭhara-Kauṇḍinya *nyāya*. It will be clear from the extracts quoted from our book that we would partially apply the same *nyāya* to explain the separate mention of Vanavāsī and Kuntala in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Vāyu Purāṇa* on which the critic takes his stand. The *Daśakumāracarita* and the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* were composed in an age when the name Kuntala was often applied to the Kanarese empire of the Cālukyas and their successors,[1] which usually included the Kuntala country proper. The separate mention of Banavāsi indicating Kuntala proper and Kuntala signifying the Kanarese empire in these works has nothing to do with the critic's location of the Kuntala country proper in the South Marāṭhā country.

The critic suggests that the root *śās* or *praśās* means governing when the object is a territory and chastising when the object

1. See *Suc. Sāt.*, p. 216, note 1.

is a living being and that, in the passage *śrīmat-Kuntalānāṁ praśāsitā*, the word *praśāsitā* means a ruler because the object of *praśās* in this case is not a living being but the Kuntala country. Unfortunately, he does not notice that even if the distinction in the meaning of the verb is conceded, there is absolutely no reason why *Kuntala* (like *Surāṣṭra* in verse 11 of the Junagadh inscription of Skandagupta) should be taken in the sense of the Kuntala country (an inanimate object) and not in that of the Kuntala people. There can certainly be no objection if *śrīmat-Kuntalānāṁ praśāsitā* is translated as 'the chastiser of the illustrious Kuntala people'.

We do not subscribe to the critic's identification of the Ṛṣika country with Khandesh. Sylvain Lévi rightly regards Ṛṣika as the southernmost country in Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi's empire, to the south of Aśmaka.[1] According to the reading of the Hathigumpha inscription preferred by Barua and ourselves, the city of Ṛṣikanagara (capital of the Ṛṣika country) was situated on the Kṛṣṇabenā (Kṛṣṇā). As regards the critic's identification of Aśmaka with the Ahmadabad and Bhir Districts, it is really impossible for us to understand why the Nander-Nizamabad region lying immediately to the east of that area could not be included. We consider Raychaudhuri's indentification of Paudanya, the Aśmaka capital, with Bodhan in the Nizamabad District as exceptionally satisfactory and suggest that even the Ahmadabad-Bhir area or parts of it may have been included in the Aśmaka country and in the dominions of the Vākāṭakas of Vatsagulma. Nothing more can be said in the present state of our knowledge. As however the Vākāṭakas of Vatsagulma are known to have ruled over the northern part of the old Hyderabad State, which is the ancient Aśmaka country proper according to many writers including Raychaudhuri and ourselves, they may have been regarded as the lords of Aśmaka. As regards the inclusion of Vatsagulma in Vidarbha, suggested by writers like Rājaśekhara (about the beginning of the tenth century), we may draw the critic's attention

1. Cf. below, pp. 214-15.

to what has been said about Tāmralipta and Takṣaśilā in the extracts quoted from our book. Vastsagulma, like those localities, appears to have been sometimes a separate state, sometimes a part of Aśmaka and sometimes a part of Vidarbha. It is well-known that Mūlaka or the land round Paiṭhan in the Aurangabad District was sometimes a separate country but was often regarded as a part of Aśmaka.

D

The country round the city of Mānapura, founded by Mānāṅka, appears to have been known in the early medieval period as Māna-deśa which included modern Velāpur about eleven *kos* to the west of Pandharpur (possibly the same as Pāṇḍuraṅgapallī mentioned in the record of Mānāṅka's grandson Avidheya) in the Sholapur District of the South Marāṭhā country. Cf. *Māṇadeśa-saṁbaddha-Velāpura, Māṇadeśa-saṁbaddha-saṁvādhikārī Brahmadeva-rāṇā*, etc., in the three Velāpur inscriptions (1300 and 1305 A.D.) of the Yādava king Rāmacandra of Devagiri in G. H. Khare's *Sources of the Medieval History of the Dekkan*, Vol. I, pp. 78-80; Vol. II, p. 9. In that case, the dominions of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānapura comprised parts of the Ratanagiri, Satara and Sholapur Districts of Bombay.

The name of this land reminds us of the well-known District of Mānbhūm (i.e. Mānabhūmi) in the south-western border of Bihar. As we have elsewhere[1] suggested, the Mānas who gave their name to this area probably ruled over a big kingdom covering parts of the Manbhum and Singhbhum Districts of Bihar and of the Mayurbhanj District of Orissa and having its headquarters at Khijjiṅga (moder Khiching) in the northern part of the Mayurbhanj District.

1. See above, pp. 143-45.

IX

GURJARA[1] AND KUŚA-DVĪPA

Furdoonjee D. J. Paruck refers to a drachm which he originally attributed[2] to the Sasanian emperor Hormazd II (303-10 A.D.), but was later inclined, after further study, to assign to Hormazd I (272-73 A.D.).[3] In the legend of the coin in question, Paruck reads the names of three territories forming parts of the Sasanian empire as Inde, Iradate and Harezi, which he identifies respectively with Sindh, Mūltān and Rājputānā. Whatever, however, be the value of the reading and interpretation of the words *Inde* and *Iradate*, there is absolutely no doubt that the suggestion regarding the third name is wrong.

Paruck says, "The reading of the word in the second line on the upper part of the reverse remained for a long time completely illusive ; but now I am able to propose the reading ḤREZI. According to all the early Arab geographers, the old name of Rājputānā was Haraz. It is probable that the original form of this name was Harez, as on this drachm."[4] He refers to Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, Calcutta, 1924, p. 358, and quotes the following passage in support of the identification of Harez and Rājaputānā : "The name of the country is somewhat doubtful as the unpointed Arabic characters may be read as Haraz or Hazar and Kharaz or Khazar as well as Jurz or Juzr. But fortunately there is no uncertainty about its position which is determined to be Rājputānā by several concurring circumstances..........."

It is a matter of regret, however, that Cunningham's views have not been quoted faithfully and completely. For, immediately

1. In South Indian inscriptions, the name is generally spelt *Gūrjara*.
2. Cf. *Revue Archéologique*, 1930, p. 234 ff.
3. *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. I, pp. 58-71.
4. *Loc. cit.*, pp. 61-62.

before the above passage, he says, "All the early Arab geographers speak of a kingdom named Jurz or Juzr which from its position would appear to be the same as the Kiu-che-lo of Hwen Thsang." Cunningham further says, "Edrisi, quoting Ibn Khordādbeh, states that Juzr or Huzr was the hereditary title of the king as well as the name of the country. This statement confirms my identification of Juzr with Guzr or Gujar, which is a very numerous tribe whose name is attached to many important places in North-West India and the Punjab and more especially to the great peninsula of Gujarāt."

It will be seen that, according to Cunningham, the ancient name of Rājaputānā was Gujar or Gurjara (Gūrjara) and not Harez as stated by Paruck. It is a matter of satisfaction that the suggestion of the great Indologist, made on insufficient data as early as 1871 A.D., has later been proved definitely by unquestionable epigraphic evidence. The editor of the Calcutta edition of Cunningham's work, consulted by Paruck, remarks, "The inscriptions of the 9th century also applied the name Gurjara *rāṣṭra* to the country north of Ajmer and the Sambhar Lake.[1] Its capital Pi-lo-mo-lo is modern Bhinmāl, 25° N. and 76° 16′ E., a town in the Jaswantpur District of Jodhpur.[2] Bhinmāl or Bhillamāla, the plateau of the Bhils, was the capital of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras who transferred their headquarters to Kanauj." The statement, although it confuses the Gurjara-Pratīhāra empire with the Gurjara country and is not strictly accurate, is sufficient to disprove Paruck's contention.

That Hiuen-tsang's *Kiu-che-lo* and its capital *Pi-lo-mo-lo* stand respectively for *Gurjara* and *Bhillamāla* is supported by the Daulatpura inscription[3] of 843 A.D., according to which the Gurjara-Pratīhāra emperor Vatsarāja (*circa* 775-815 A.D.) granted the village of Śivā in the Deṇḍavānaka *viṣaya* (modern Didwana in the former Jodhpur State, Rajasthan) of the Gurjaratrā *bhūmi*. In the days of the early Arab travellers, therefore,

1. *Imp. Gaz. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 350.
2. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 111.
3. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 211 ff.

the name of the Jodhpur region of Rajasthan was Gurjaratrā or Gujarāt, a name derived from that of the Gurjara people. That, however, this country included the former Alwar and Bharatpur States in Eastern Rajasthan is suggested by the celebrated Arab writer Al-Bīrūnī who composed his work on India about 1030 A.D. Al-Bīrūnī refers to 'Bazāna, the capital of Guzarāt' and places it 25 *farsakh* (about 92 miles) to the north of the kingdom of Mewār (capital Jattaraur, *i.e.* Chitrakūṭa or Chitor) and 15 *farsakh* (about 55 miles) from Rājaurī lying on the route towards the south-west from Kanoj.[1] Rājaurī (*i.e.* Rājyapurī) is no doubt identical with Rājyapura (modern Rājor-gaḍh in the former Alwar State of Rajasthan) which was the capital of *Mahārājādhirāja* Mathanadeva of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra lineage according to an inscription of 960 A. D.[2] Al-Bīrūnī further says, "The distance between Mathurā and Kanoj is the same as that between Kanoj and Bazāna, *viz.* 28 *farsakh* (about 103 miles)."[3] The above indications show almost beyond doubt that Bazāna is no other than the modern Bayānā in the former Bharatpur State of Rajasthan. It may be pointed out that Bazāna seems to have ceased to be the capital of Gujarāt in the days of Al-Bīrūnī, as he says, "This town is called Nārāyan by our people. After it had fallen into decay the inhabitants migrated to another place called Jadūra."[4] The name Nārāyaṇa was apparently derived from a celebrated temple of that god at Bayānā. As regards Jadūra, Sachau says, "This reading is uncertain. Perhaps all the signs of the Arabic text are the name of a place."[5] It, however, seems that the reading intended is Rājaurī, i.e. Rājyapurī or Rajyapura which is the same as the modern Rājor. It may further be pointed out that Al-Bīrūnī's *Canon Masudicus* gives the latitudes and longitudes of both Bazāna (or Nārāyan) and Bhillamāla, longitudes being reckoned from the coast of the Atlantic and Bagdad

1. Cf. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, Vol. I, p. 202.
2. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 266.
3. Sachau, *op. cit.*, p. 202.
4. *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*
5. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 319.

being located at 70°.[1] As, however, the longitude recorded for Bazāna is palpably wrong, it hardly helps us in locating the city.

The above discussion will show that Harez was never the name of Rājputānā. According to the combined testimony of inscriptions and of Hiuen-tsang (7th century) and Al-Bīrūnī (11th century), the capital of Gurjaratrā or the Gurjara country in Rājputānā was at first at Bhinmāl in the former Jodhpur State, next it was at Bayānā in the former Bharatpur State, and afterwards at Rājorgaḍh in the former Alwar State. The Arab geographers, therefore, speak of Gurjara and not of Harez.

B

One of the *dvīpas* (literally, 'an island' or 'a land lying between two rivers') constituting the Puranic *sapta-dvīpā* Vasumatī (i.e. the earth consisting of seven *dvīpas*) is called by the name Śaka-dvīpa or Śāka-dvīpa.[2] This land is generally identified with the country inhabited by the Śaka people, which was called Scythia by the Greeks, the Greek name for the people being 'Scythian'. Three different settlements of the Śakas are mentioned in the old Persian inscriptions, one of which lay in the plains of the rivers Jaxartes or Syr Darya and Oxus or Amu Darya in Central Asia and these Śakas are believed by some scholars to have settled later in the valley of the Helmund in the eastern part of Iran.[3] Both these old and new homelands of the Śaka people were called Scythia, while East Iran is known to have been called Sakastān (modern Seistān, medieval Sijistān) by the Persians and Śaka-dvīpa or Śāka-dvīpa by the Indians. But Śaka-dvīpa or Śāka-dvīpa in the original Puranic conception of the *sapta-dvīpā* Vasumatī may have indicated the Śaka

1. *I. id.*, p. 319.
   Cf. *Agni Purāṇa*, Chapter 108, verses 1-3 :

   जंबुप्लक्षाह्वयौ द्वीपौ शाल्मलिश्चापरो महान् ।
   कुशः कौचस्तथा शाकः पुष्करश्चेति सप्तमः ॥
   एते द्वीपाः समुद्रस्तु सप्त सप्तभिरावृताः ।
   लवणेक्षुसुरासर्पिर्दधिदुग्धजलैः समम् ॥

   The conception of the *sapta-dvīpā Vasumatī* occurs in Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya.*
3. See *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 120; Dey, *Geographical Dictionary*, s.v.

settlement in the Oxus and Jaxartes valleys in Central Asia. There is another name in the list of the seven *dvīpas*, viz. Kuśa-dvīpa, which also seems to be mentioned in the old Persian inscriptions.

The name of a country called Kush and a people called Kushiya (i.e. the people of Kush) are found in several old Persian inscriptions. The Hamadan inscription[1] of Darius (*c.* 522-486 B.C.), for instance, gives the following boundaries of the empire of that great monarch : 'from the Scythians that are beyond Sogdiana (i.e. the Bukhara region between the Oxus and the Jaxartes) — from there—as far as Kush, from Hindu (i.e. Sindhu or India meaning the land on the river Indus) —therefrom—as far as Sparda (*i.e.* Sardis in Asia Minor).' Some scholars identify Kush with Ethiopia while others place it in Central Egypt.[2] As Mudrāya (*i.e.* Egypt) and Kush are both mentioned in the list of satrapies of the ancient Persian emperors, the identification of Kush with Ethiopia seems to be more reasonable. There is no doubt that the country called Kush was situated somewhere in North-Eastern Africa beyond Mudrāya or Egypt. It is possible to connect this country with Kuśa-dvīpa which is, like Śaka-dvīpa or Śāka-dvīpa, one of the seven *dvīpas* constituting the Puranic *sapta-dvīpā* Vasumatī.

1. *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 8-9 : *hacā Sakaibish tyaiy para Sugdam amata yātā ā Kushā hacā Hindauv amata yā'ā ā Sparda* = Sanskrit *सचा *शकेभिः (= शकेभ्यः) *त्ये (= ते = ये) परं सुग्दात्, अमुतः (= अमुष्मात् स्थानात्) यावत् आकुशात् (= यावत् कुशं), *सचा *सिंधौ (= सिंधोः = from India, *i.e.*, the land on the Sindhu or Indus), अमुतः यावत् आ स्वर्दात्. The members of the priestly class of ancient Persia (Iran) called *Magi* (Greek *Magos*), who settled in India, became known after their absorption in the Indian social system as the Maga Brāhmaṇas of Śāka-dvīpa or the Śākadvīpya Brāhmaṇas. Cf. R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems*, Poona ed., pp. 218 ff.

2. Hall, *Ancient History of the Near East*, 7th ed., p. 225.

X

SAKNĀT-SANKĀT-SANKNĀT

There is a confusion regarding the identification of the geographical name variously given as Saknāt, Sankāt and Sanknāt in the manuscripts of the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* by Minhājuddīn of Sirāj in his account of Muḥammad Bakhtyār's conquest of Nūdīa (Nava-dvīpa, i.e. Nadiā on the Bhāgīrathī in South-West Bengal) in the dominions of the Sena king Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal. The text of Minhājuddīn's work was published in Calcutta in 1864 and was translated by Raverty in 1881. A translation of parts of the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* was also incorporated in Elliot's and Dowson's *History of India as told by its own Historians*, Vol. II, pp. 259 ff.

Minhājuddīn says that, on the eve of Bakhtyār's invasion, many people of Nūdīa 'went away to the country of Saknāt-Sankāt-Sanknāt, and to the cities of Bang and Kāmrūp ; but Rāi Lakhmanīa did not like to leave his territory'.[1] In Raverty's translation, the passage in question runs as follows : 'Most of the Brāhmaṇas and inhabitants of that place retired into the province of Sankanāt-Saknāt, the cities and towns of Bang, and towards Kāmrūd ; but to begin to abandon his country was not agreeable to Lakhmanīa.'[2] On the fall of Nūdīa, 'Rāi Lakhmanīa went towards Saknāt-Sankāt-Sanknāt and Bang, where he died. His sons are to this day rulers of the territory of Bang.'[3] In Raverty's translation we have, 'Lakhmanīa got away towards Sankanāt-Saknāt and Bang, and there the period of his reign shortly came to a termination. His descendants up to this time are rulers in the country of Bang.'[4]

Stewart in his *History of Bengal* took Saknāt-Sankāt-Sanknāt to be identical with Jagannāth (Jagannātha-pūrī), i.e. modern

1. Elliot and Dowson, *op. cit.*, p. 308.
2. *Op. cit.*, p. 558.
3. Elliot and Dowson, *op. cit.*, p. 309.
4. Cf. N. G. Majumdar, *Ins. Beng.*, Vol. III, p. 107.

Purī in Orissa, and Dowson drew the attention of scholars to this view. But Minhājuddīn makes it clear that Saknāt-Sankāt-Sanknāt was the name of a country or province and not a city like Purī and that it was adjacent to Bang (Vaṅga having in this age its headquarters at Vikramapura in the Dacca District of East Bengal) or at least lay in the direction of Bang from the Nadīā side. It appears moreover that, with the loss of the Nadīā-Lakhnautī (Gaur) region, i.e. the western part of the Sena kingdom, Lakṣmaṇasena took shelter in the eastern part of his dominions. It is impossible to infer from Minhājuddīn's evidence that the Sena king left his dominions and took shelter at the court of the contemporary Gaṅga king of Orissa, who was one of his enemies.

Commenting on the passages quoted from Elliot's and Dowson's work in his *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, Hodivala says, "Dowson notes that Sanknāt is also written Sankāt and Saknāt and he asks if it is not Jagannāth. But Minhāj states a few lines lower down that Lakhmanīa himself fled to *Sanknāt and Bang* and that 'his sons are to this day rulers in the territory of Bang'. Now Vaṅga or Baṅga is the specific name of *Eastern* Bengal and we possess epigraphic evidence of Lakṣmaṇasena's descendants having ruled for at least three generations (sic.) at Vikrampur near Sonārgāon in Dacca. Sanknāt may be a mistake for Sonārgāon or Songāon. A still nearer phonetic approach (sic.) would be Satgāon (sic. Sātgāon) and it is possible that Minhāj who knew little or nothing of Bengal geography has confused the two names. Hooghly district in which Satgāon (sic.) lay was under Hindu rule for long after the Muhammadan conquest of Lakhnautī."[1] Unfortunately these suggestions about the location of Saknāt-Sankāt-Sanknāt of the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* are equally untenable, although Hodivala is right in his criticism of the Jagannāth theory. Minhājuddīn stayed at Lakhnautī for over two years in 1242-45 A.D.[2] and could hardly have been as ignorant of the geography of Bengal as Hodivala takes him to

1. *Op. cit.*, 207.
2. Cf. Elliot and Dowson, *op. cit.*, p. 260.

have been. Sonārgāon was not a country and, since it was a city in Bang, it is certainly absurd to speak of one's flight towards Sonārgāon *and* Bang. The arguments against the identification of Saknāt-Sankāt-Sanknāt with Jagannāth or Purī, offered by Hodivala himself, are equally applicable against its identification with Sātgāon which lay to the south of Nadiā unlike the Vikramapura region lying to its east.

The *History of Bengal*, recently published by the Dacca University, offers conflicting suggestions regarding the identification of Minhājuddīn's Saknāt-Sankāt-Sanknāt. In Volume I of this work, R.C. Majumdar refers to Saṅkaṭa-grāma, mentioned in Sandhyākaranandin's *Rāmacarita* as the territory of one of Rāmapāla's feudatories named Caṇḍārjuna, and observes, "*Ain-i-Akbarī* refers to *pargana* Sakot in *Sarkār* Sātgāon. The name *Sakot* resembles *Saṅkaṭa*...........Saṅkaṭa-grāma is probably the same as Saṅka-koṭa referred to in *Vallālacarita* and Sankanāt referred to in *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*."[1] It will be seen that the identification of Saknāt-Sankāt-Sanknāt with a locality near Sātgāon is as untenable as its location at Sātgāon itself.

In Volume II of the above work, K. R. Qanungo says, "The region to which Rāi Lakhmanīa fled from Nadiā is named in the *T.N.* as *Bang wa S-n-k-n-āt*. Bang means East Bengal and the second place-name is a copyist's error for Sil-hāṭ, i.e. Sylhet. The invariable practice of Persian writers is to designate a district by joining together two well-known places in it, which might be even 50 miles apart ; *e.g.* Sultanpur-Nandurbar, Vani-Dindori, Trimbak-Nasik, Dholpur-Bari, Kora-Jahanabad, Kara-Manikpur."[2] Of all the identifications of Saknāt-Sankāt-Sanknāt of the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* proposed by scholars and discussed above, Qanungo's suggestion appears to be the least objectionable, as Sylhet may be regarded as a district adjacent to Bang. But the statement that Bang and Saknāt-Sankāt-Sanknāt have been mentioned jointly to indicate a district like Sultanpur-Nandurbar is clearly wrong. The passage 'to the country of Saknāt-Sankāt-

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 158.
2. *Op. cit.*, p. 4.

Sanknāt and to the cities of Bang and Kāmrūp' quoted above from Elliot's and Dowson's translation of the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* shows beyond doubt that Saknāt-Sankāt-Sanknāt did not form an integral part of Bang. The other passage quoted from the same work, however, suggests that this territory lay adjacent to Bang, and the Sylhet District no doubt suits this position. As regards the possibility of scribal errors in the transliteration of Sil-hāṭ (acutually *Silhaṭ* from *Śrīhaṭṭa* or *Śrīhaṭa*) as Saknāt, Sankāt or Sanknāt in the Perso-Arabic script, we may cite many other instances of the type.[1]

It should, however, be pointed out that Śrīhaṭṭa or Sylhet as the name of an important territory is not usually found in early records, while the district round Sylhet is mentioned in the Chittagong plate (about the ninth century A.D.) of king Kāntideva as the Harikela (sometimes called Harikeli or Harikelā) *maṇḍala* (province). Moreover, both Bang and Saknāt-Sankāt-Sanknāt appear to have formed a part of the dominions of Lakṣmaṇasena while there is hardly any evidence in favour of the inclusion of Sylhet in the Sena kingdom. Viewed from this angle, the identification of Saknāt-Sankāt-Sanknāt with Sylhet does not appear to be entirely beyond doubt. On the other hand, there was another territory near Bang (Vaṅga), which was not only well-known in Indian literature between the fourth and the thirteenth century A.D. but also probably formed a part of Lakṣmaṇasena's kingdom. Its name again may be regarded as the origin of Saknāt-Sankāt-Sanknāt of the Perso-Arabic script with equal plausibility as Silhaṭ (Sylhet) if not with more justification. This is the country of Samataṭa which was the name of the Tippera-Noakhali region of South-East Bengal as late as the thirteenth century when the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* was composed. It has to be remembered that Samataṭa as a territory near Vaṅga was considerably more important than Śrīhaṭṭa or Sylhet. The intended reading for Minhājuddīn's *Saknāt-Sankāt-Sanknāt* thus appears to have been *Samtaṭ* or *Santaṭ*.

1. Cf. Ray, *D.H.N.I.*, pp. 599ff., 698, etc. Cf. '*Kanauj* and *futuh*, when pelt without diacritical points, assume the same form : a good illustration of he difficulty of reading accurately oriental names;—here two words of the ame form have not a letter in common' (Elliot and Dowson, *op. cit.*, p. 45).

The Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta (*circa* 340-76 A.D.) mentions the Samataṭa country while Varāhamihira's *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* (sixth century A.D.) distinguishes it from Vaṅga. The country is mentioned in the seventh century in the accounts of the celebrated Chinese pilgrims Hiuen-tsang and I-tsing as well as in the Kailān plate[1] of king Śrīdhāraṇa of the Rāta dynasty, who is described as the lord of Samataṭa. The same country is further mentioned in the Bāghāurā inscription[2] of Mahīpāla I (*circa* 988-1038 A.D.) and in the Mehār plate[3] (1234 A.D.) of Dāmodara. The Mehār plate mentions Samataṭa as a *maṇḍala* or province. The name Samataṭa disappeared from Indian geography after the thirteenth century A.D.

King Lakṣmaṇasena ruled from his headquarters at Vikramapura in the Dacca District in Vaṅga at least up to 1205-06 A.D. when Śrīdharadāsa compiled his *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*. King Viśvarūpasena, son and successor of Lakṣmaṇasena, ruled after his father at least for fourteen years as known from the Madanpāḍā plate.[4] The *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* speaks of Sena rule in Bang as late at least as 1242-45 A. D. when Minhājuddīn was staying at Lakhnautī. But about this time the erstwhile feudatories of the Senas in the Samataṭa or Tippera-Noakhali region asserted their independence. A king named Harikāladeva Raṇavaṅkamalla was ruling over the kingdom of Paṭṭikerā in the Tippera Distrrict in 1221 A.D. while another king named Dāmodara is known to have established his suzerainty in the Tippera-Noakhali-Chittagong region and to have been ruling from 1231 A.D. at least up to 1243 A.D. Dāmodara belonged to the Deva family and was preceded on the throne by his father Vāsudeva, grandfather Madhusūdana and great-grandfather Puruṣottama. It seems that the earlier members of this family acknowledged the supremacy of the Senas of Vikramapura. Some of Dāmodara's

1. *I. H. Q.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 221 ff.
2. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 355.
3. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 182 ff.
4. See *J. A. S.*, Letters, Vol. XX, pp. 209 ff. ; cf. pp. 201 ff. There was no king named Keśavasena in the Sena dynasty.

epithets as found in his inscriptions are clearly imitated from those of the Later Senas, used in the copper-plate grants of king Viśvarūpasena. This sho s that even if the Senas were continuing their precarious existence at Vikramapura as late as the fifth decade of the thirteenth century (as indicated by the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*), they were no better than subordinate allies of the Deva king. Dāmodara's son, Daśaratha, issued his charters from Vikramapura which had been previously the capital of the Senas in Vaṅga. This points to the complete overthrow of the Senas. Daśaratha's title *Arirāja-danuja-mādhava* suggests that he is identical with Danuj Rāi, Rājā of Sonārgāon (near Vikramapura) close to Dacca, who, according to Ziāuddīn Baranī, entered into an agreement with Sulṭān Ghiyāsuddin Balban of Delhi about 1281 A.D. that he should guard against the escape of the rebellious Sulṭān Mughisuddīn Tughril Khān of Lakhnautī by water.[1] Thus the Devas of Samataṭa were the successors of the Senas at Vikramapura in Vaṅga.

Earlier expeditions of the Muslim rulers of Lakhnautī against the country of Bang do not appear to have been successful. But Sulṭān Tughril Khān, who began to rule in 1268 A.D., is doubtfully said to have built a fort at Loricol about 25 miles due south of Dacca and to have invaded the kingdom of Hill Tippera.[2] In course of his Bengal compaign, Sulṭān Ghiyāsuddīn Balban claimed to have subdued Iqlim-i-Lakhnautī and 'Arsah-i-Bangāla while he advised his son Nāṣiruddīn Bughra Khān, whom he left as the governor of Muslim Bengal, to exert for the conquest of Diyār-i-Bangāla.[3] It is probable that the dominions of Daśaratha or Danuj Rāi of Sonārgāon in Bang were included in this Dīyār-i-Bangāla.[4] When exactly the Deva dynasty

1. *Hist. Beng.*, Vol. II, p. 65.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 59.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 67.
4. About this time, the lower portion of South-West Bengal seems to have formed a part of the dominions of the Gaṅga kings of Orissa. From the twelfth to the sixteenth century, the Bhāgīrathī was claimed to have been the eastern boundary of the kingdom of Orissa. The upper part of that area, called Rāl (Rāḍha), formed one wing of the Muslim territory of Lakhnautī, its other wing being Barind (Varendra), according to Minhājuddīn.

of Sonārgāon was overthrown by the Muslims is not known. Jalāluddīn, a son of Sulṭān Shamsuddīn Firūz Shāh (1301-22 A.D.) is known to have issued coins from the Lakhnautī mint 'from the spoils of Bang' while a coin of Shamsuddīn Fīrūz Shāh issued from his mint at Sonārgāon itself bears the date 710 A.H.=1310-11 A.D.[1] Thus the Deva dynasty of Sonārgāon seems to have been extirpated by the Muhammadans shortly after the reign of Daśaratha. A copper-plate grant issued by a ruler named Vīṛadharadeva in his 15th regnal year has been recently discovered at Mainâmatī in the Tippera District of East Pakistan.[2] He seems to have been the successor of Daśarathadeva.

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 80-81.
2. F. A. Khan, *Further Excavations in East Pakistan : Mainamati*, p. 26.

XI
GAṄGĀ

Classical writers represent the Nanda and Maurya kings of Magadha primarily as rulers of the peoples known to them as the Gangaridae and the Prasii. The second of the two names is rightly taken to be the Greek plural form of the Indian word *Prācya* meaning the inhabitants of the Eastern Division of India.[1] It is well known that Bhāratavarṣa (India) was traditionally divided into five countries, *viz.* Prācya or Eastern India, Pāścātya or Western India, Uttarāpatha or North-Western India and the adjoining region of Central Asia, Madhyadeśa or the central part of Northern India, and Dākṣiṇātya or the peninsula of the Deccan.[2] The Prācya country or the land of the Prācya people comprised Bihar and Bengal together with the eastern part of the U. P. and the eastern fringe of Orissa. The western limit of this land was the Kālaka-vana (probably near Allahabad) according to the authors of the Sūtra works,[3] Prayāga or

1. See above, p. 29, note 2.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 21 ff. The Himalayan and Vindhyan regions were sometimes added to these. See above, pp. 33-37 (Sections VI-VII.) Dākshiṇātya was also called Dakṣiṇāpatha and Pāścātya also Āparānta.

3. Cf. *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra*, II, 2, 16 :

प्रागदर्शनात्प्रत्यक्कालकवनाद्दक्षिणेन हिमवन्तमुदक् पारियात्रमेतदार्यावर्त्तम् । तस्मिन् य आचारः स प्रमाणम् । गंगायमुनयोरंतरमित्येके । अथात्र भाल्लविनो गाथामुदाहरन्ति—

पश्चात्सिन्धुर्विसरणी सूर्यस्योदयनं पुरः ।
यावत्कृष्णो विधावति तावद्धि ब्रह्मवर्चसम् ॥

But according to Śaṅkhalikhita : प्राक् सिन्धुसौवीराद्दक्षिणेन हिमवतः पश्चात्कांपिल्यादुक्पारियात्रादनवद्यं ब्रह्मवर्चसम् and according to Paiṭhinasi : आ हिमवत आ च कुमार्याः सिन्धुर्वैतरणी नदी सूर्यस्योदयनं पुरः । यावदा कृष्णमृगो विचरति तत्र धर्मश्चतुष्पादो भवति । See Rangaswami Aiyangar, *Rājadharma*' p. 60. It should be noticed that what was originally called Āryāvarta was later named Madhyadeśa while in later times Āryāvarta included the whole of Northern India. This is related to the gradual spread of Aryanism.

Allahabad according to the *Manusmṛti*[1] and Vārāṇasī or Banāras according to the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*[2] composed by Rājaśekhara about the beginning of the tenth century A.D. Prāgjyotiṣa or Assam, often regarded by ancient writers as a Himalayan country, formed no part of the dominions of the Nandas and Mauryas of Magadha. In the seventh century A.D., the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-tsang noticed *Stūpas* attributed to the Maurya king Aśoka (who is said to have built 84000 *Stūpas* throughout his empire) in all parts of Bengal but not a single one of them anywhere in the dominions of Bhāskaravarman, king of Assam. The country of Kaliṅga comprising wide areas of Orissa was usually regarded in early times as a land belonging to Dākṣiṇātya or the Southern Division of India.[3]

The people called Gangaridae is usually located in Bengal. They therefore represented one of the various tribal elements constituting the so-called Prācya people. The separate mention of the Gangaridae and the Prasii (who apparently included the Gangaridae) indicates the importance of the former among different elements of the Prācya people under the Nandas and Mauryas (who may have belongs to that tribe) in the fourth and third centuries B. C. The name *Gangaridae* is sometimes taken as a Greek corruption of Sanskrit *Gaṅgā-rāṣṭra*, *Gaṅgā-rāḍha* or *Gaṅgā-hṛdaya*. The unsoundness of these suggestions is clearly demonstrated by the fact that the word *Gangaridae* in the plural is derived from the base *Gange* or *Ganges*[4] as Achaemenidae (the Achaemenians) from *Achaemenes* and *Sasanidae* (the Sasanians) from *Sasan*.[5] The name of the people is therefore

1. See II, 22-23:

   आ समुद्रात्तु वै पूर्वादासमुद्रात्तु पश्चिमात् ।
   तयोरेवान्तरं गिर्योरार्यावर्त्तं विदुर्बुधाः ॥
   हिमवद्विन्ध्ययोर्मध्यं यत्प्राग्विनशनादपि ।
   प्रत्यगेव प्रयागाच्च मध्यदेशः प्रकीर्त्तितः ॥

2. *G. O. S.* ed., pp. 93-94 : तत्र वाराणस्याः परतः पूर्वदेशः...माहिष्मत्याः परतो दक्षिणापथः...देवसभायाः परतः पश्चाद्देशः...पृथूदकात्परत उत्तरापथः ।
3. See above, p. 28, note 2.
4. The letter *r* in the plural form is an augment.
5. See above, pp. 138 ff.

actually Gange or Ganges and not Gangaridae which simply means the Ganges or Gangian people. That the correct form of the name of this people was Ganges is certain since, as will be shown below, it is found in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* as the name of its habitat. The particular area of Bengal that was inhabited by the Gangaridae (Ganges people or Gangians) is indicated not only by the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (*circa* 80 A.D.) but very definitely also by the *Geography* of Ptolemy (*circa* 140 A. D.).

Ptolemy[1] refers to the five estuaries of the river Ganges as (1) the westernmost mouth called Kambyson (144° 30′, 18° 15′), (2) the second mouth called Mega(145° 45′, 18° 30′), (3) the third mouth called Kamberikon (146° 20′, 18°40′), (4) the fourth mouth called Pseudostomon (147° 40′, 18° 30′), and (5) the fifth mouth called Antebole (148° 30′, 18° 15′). Although owing to the changes in their courses, the identification of these mouths of the Ganges with her present estuaries may not be beyond doubt, Ptolemy's estimate of the distance between the easternmost and westernmost of them to be four degrees of latitude seems to suggest that the area washed by the estuaries of the Ganges in the second century A.D. was practially the same as it is today, that is to say, the land between the Bhāgīrathī or Hooghly river in the west and the Padmā-Meghnā estuary in the east. Elsewhere in his work,[2] the Greek geographer says, "All the region about the mouths of the Ganges is occupied by the Gangaridae with the following city—Gange, the royal city (i.e. capital of the country)—146°, 19° 15′." It is clear from the above account that the people called Gangian or Ganges received their name from Gange, the chief city of their country, just as the people of Attika were known as Athenian from the capital city of Athens. In India, names of cities like Puṇḍravardhana, Karṇasuvarṇa or Tāmralipta usually also indicated the districts round them and, moreover, the names of country and its people were almost always the same. Thus, according to Ptolemy, the Ganges people or Gangians inhabited the delta of Southern Bengal watered by

1. *Geog.*, VII, i, 18.
2. VII, i, 81.

the lower spurs of the river Ganges. In the second century A.D., they appear to have been an autonomous people with their capital at the city of Gange which, as its name indicates, was situated on the river Ganges. The latitude and longitude of the city as given by the geographer, although they can hardly be relied on, would suggest its location not far from the confluence of the Ganges and the sea. It is not improbable that the Maroundae of Ptolemy[1] whose country abutted on that of the Gangaridae and lay to the east of the Ganges, were the Puṇḍras who had their head-quarters at the city of Puṇḍravardhana, modern Mahāsthān in the Bogra District.

It is very interesting to note that the *Periplus*[2] applies the name Ganges not only to a river but also to a country and its capital both located about the principal mouth of the river. The author, who was a Greek navigator and merchant, says that while sailing towards the east in the Bay of Bengal 'with the ocean to the right and the shore remaining beyond to the left' the country called Ganges comes into view : "there is a river near it called the Ganges... On its bank is a market-town which has the same name as the river, Ganges. Through this place are brought malabathrum and Gangetic spikenard and pearls, and muslins of the finest sort which are called Gangetic. It is said that there are gold mines near these places and there is a gold coin which is called *kaltis*." The reference to the Gangetic muslin no doubt reminds us of the worldwide celebrity of the muslin manufactured at Dacca in the medieval period and also of the *dukūla*, *kauśika*, *patrorṇa* and *pravara*, mentioned in the Sabhāparvan of the *Mahābhārata* as presents made to Yudhiṣṭhira by the Vaṅgas, Kaliṅgas, Tāmraliptas and Puṇḍras of Eastern India.[3] It is also interesting that the city of Ganges, situated on the river of that name (apparently indicating the principal mouth of the Ganges) has been called a market-town ; but the fact that the the town bore the same name as the country round it shows

1. VII, ii, 14.
2. Para. 63.
3. Cf. Motichandra, *Geog. Econ. Stud.*, pp. 112 ff. See also above, pp. 139 ff.

that, although it was a market-town in the eyes of a foreign merchant, the city of Ganges was the metropolis of the country called Ganges. It is probable that, soon after the dissolution of the Maurya empire, the Gangian people of Lower Bengal formed a powerful state with their headquarters at the city of Gange or Ganges. As, however, the name of the people was apparently derived from their chief city, the Gangian city seems to have existed as early as the days of the Nandas and Mauryas of Magadha.

But a people called Gaṅgā, Gāṅga or Gāṅgeya inhabiting Lower Bengal and having their capital at a city called Gaṅgā (Greek *Gange* or *Ganges*) is not known from ancient Indian literature. This powerful people, known to the foreign writers from the fourth century B.C. down at least to the second century A.D., was apparently known to the Indians by a different name. Curiously enough Kālidāsa, who lived in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D., locates, in connection with the mythological *dig-vijaya* of Raghu, the celebrated Vaṅga people, known from ancient Indian literature, exactly in the same region where the Gangaridae or Gangians are placed by the Classical writers. In Canto IV of Kālidāsa's *Rāghuvaṁśa*, Raghu is said to have reached the shores of the Bay of Bengal (verse 34) and to have accepted the submission of the Suhmas (verse 35) and subdued the Vaṅgas (verses 36-37). The Suhma country, later called Rāḍha, lay on both banks of the Ajay river in the modern Burdwan region in South-West Bengal. The *Raghuvaṁśa* further says that, after having conquered the Vaṅgas, the Ikṣvāku hero crossed the Kapiśā (the modern Kaśāi river in the Midnapur District, identified by Raychaudhuri with Ptolemy's Kambyson, the westermost mouth of the Ganges) and, through the country of the Utkalas (inhabiting parts of the Midnapur and Balasore Districts), reached Kaliṅga in the Cuttack-Puri-Ganjam region (verse 38). It seems that the Kaśāi river in the Midnapur District was once regarded as the demarcating line between the Vaṅga and Utkala countries and that the Vaṅgas occupied the delta of Lower Bengal as far as the Kaśāi in the west.

This is possibly supported by Ptolemy's *Geography* (if Raychaudhuri's indentification of Kambyson is accepted) and certainly by the Jain *Prajñāpanā* which speaks of Tāmralipti or Tāmralipta (modern Tamluk in the Midnapur District) as a locality belonging to the land of the Vaṅgas.[1] But far more important in determining the home of the Vaṅga people is verse 36 of Kālidāsa's text describing Raghu's victory over the Vaṅgas :

वंगानुत्खाय तरसा नेता नौसाधनोद्यतान् ।
निचखान जयस्तम्भान् गंगास्रोतोन्तरेषु सः ॥

The mouths of the Ganges, referred to as *Gaṅgā-srotas*, were near about the Bay of Bengal mentioned earlier in verse 34. The passage *Gaṅgā-sroto-ntareṣu* reminds us of *stan-āntare* (i.e. in the space between the breasts) in the passage *na mṛṇāla-sūtraṁ racitaṁ stan-āntare*. Millinātha rightly explains *Gaṅgā-sroto-ntareṣu* as *Gaṅgāyāḥ srotasāṁ pravāhāṇām=antareṣu dvīpeṣu*.[2] The verse therefore means to say that, after having totally routed the Vaṅga people who were fighting from their boats, Raghu established columns of victory in the land interesected by the mouths of the Ganges, which was apparently the country inhabited by that people. This shows beyond doubt that, in the age of Kālidāsa (i.e. the fourth and fifth centuries A.D.), the Vaṅgas inhabited the deltaic region of Southern Bengal and that they were no other than the Gangaridae or Gangians who, according to the Classical writers of the first and second centuries A.D., lived in the region about the mouths of the Ganges and had their chief city near about the confluence of the Ganges and the sea.

The location of the city of Gaṅgā, capital of the Gangians or Vaṅgas, in the vicinity of the confluence of the Gaṅgā and the Sāgara (sea) suggests that it was no other than the celebrated holy city of Gaṅgāsāgara or Gaṅgāsāgarasaṅgama mentioned in Indian literature. As a personal name like Satyabhāmā is known to have been abbreviated into both Satyā and Bhāmā, a locality like Puruṣottamapurī could be and has actually been

1. See Raychaudhuri, *Stud. Ind. Ant.*, p. 186.
2. These points have also been discussed above, pp. 139-40.

celebrated both as Puruṣottama and as Purī. The city of Gaṅgā-sāgara likewise seems to have been known both as Gaṅgā (at least to foreigners of the early period) and as Sāgara (still preserved in the name of the Sāgar or Gaṅgāsāgar Island).

The ancient city of Gaṅgāsāgara at the eastern extremity of the Cakravarti-kṣetra and of Bhāratavarṣa, Kumārīdvīpa and Āryāvarta became one of the famous all-India *tirthas* at least before the rise of the Guptas in the fourth century A.D., if not in much earlier times.[1] The popularity of pilgrimage to holy places is noticed in the records of Aśoka (*circa* 269-232 B.C.) who visited several Buddhist *tirthas* including Sambodhi (Mahābodhi or Bodhigayā, modern Bodhgayā)[2] and of the Hinduised Śaka king Ṛṣabhadatta (119-23 A.D.) who visited Puṣkara in Rājputānā and made arrangements in various *tirthas* in Western India for the benefit of the pilgrims.[3] The *Baudhāyana Dharma-sūtra*[3] (*circa* 5th century B.C.) discouraged travels in the lands of the Āraṭṭas, Kāraskaras, Puṇḍras, Sauvīras, Vaṅgas, Kaliṅgas and Prāṇūnas, as it prescribed purification of the travellers by the performance of the Punastoma or the Sarvapṛṣṭhā.[4] But later authorities allowed travels in the Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Surāṣṭra and Magadha countries if they were undertaken for the purpose of pilgrimage.[5] The Tīrthayātrā section of the Vana-parvan of the *Mahābhārata*, composed earlier than the Gupta

1. Since pilgrimage to holy places is a non-Aryan institution later adopted by the Aryans, the antiquity of Gaṅgāsāgara may be pre-Aryan.
2. See *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 28, 70-71.
3. *Ibid*, pp. 161-62.
4. II, 2, 16:

अवन्तयोऽङ्गमगधाः सुराष्ट्रा दक्षिणापथाः ।
उपावृत्सिधुसौवीरा एते संकीर्णयोनयः ।।

आरट्टान्कारस्करान्पुण्ड्रान्सौवीरान्वंगान्कलिंगान्प्राणूनानिति च गत्वा पुनस्तोमेन यजेत सर्वपृष्ठया वा । अथाप्युदाहरंन्ति—

पद्भ्यां स कुरुते पापं यः कलिंगान्प्रपद्यते ।
ऋषयो निष्कृतिं तस्य प्राहुर्वैश्वानरं हविः ।।

5. Bagchi, *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India*, p. 74:

अंगवंगकलिंगेषु सौराष्ट्रमगधेषु च ।
तीर्थयात्रां विना गच्छन् पुनःसंस्कारमर्हति ।।

The verse is ascribed to the *Ādi Purāṇa* in the *Vīramitrodaya, Saṁskāra-prakāśa*, Chowkhamba, p. 546. Cf. *Mahābhārata*, VIII, 45, 14-15.

age, refers to Gaṅgāsāgara as a very great *tīrtha.*[1] The *Śabdakalpadruma* quotes the following verses from the *Kūrma Purāṇa*, one of the older Purāṇas known to Al-Bīrūnī :

गंगायां ज्ञानतो मृत्वा मुक्तिमाप्नोति मानवः ।
अज्ञानाद् ब्रह्मलोकं च याति नास्त्यत्र संशयः ॥
गंगायां च जले मोक्षो वाराणस्यां जले स्थले ।
अन्तरिक्षे च गंगायां गंगासागरसंगमे ॥

It is said that a person dying in the waters of any part of the Ganges gets salvation ; at Banāras salvation reaches him even if he dies on the banks of the river ; but at Gaṅgāsāgara salvation is guaranteed whether one dies in the waters or on the land or in the air. The *Viṣṇusaṁhitā*, a post-Gupta work in its present form, recognises the importance of this *tīrtha* in regard to the performance of funerary rites.[2] That Gaṅgāsāgara was well known in North-Western India in the eleventh century A.D. is suggested by the reference in Al-Bīrūnī's work on India (*circa* 1030 A.D.) to this city 'where the Ganges flows into the sea'.[3]

Due to several factors, the chief amongst them being the change of the main course of the Gaṅgā through the Padmā as well as the impotence of the descendants of the valiant Vaṅgas of old as guardians of the sacred place, the all-India importance of the Gaṅgāsāgara *tīrtha* gradually waned and its enviable position as the greatest *tīrtha* in Eastern India was untimately usurped by the medieval Purī *tīrtha* in Orissa. As a local *tīrtha*, however, it preserved its popularity in Eastern India throughout the medieval period in spite of the depredations of

1. III, 85, 4-5 :

गंगायास्तत्र राजेन्द्र सागरस्य च संगमे ।
अश्वमेधं दशगुणं प्रवदन्ति मनीषिणः ॥
गंगायास्त्वपरं पारं प्राप्य यः स्नाति मानवः ।
त्रिरात्रमुषितो राजन् सर्वपापैः प्रमुच्यते ॥

2. Chapter 85, 28 :

गंगाद्वारे प्रयागे च गंगासागरसंगमे ।
सततं नैमिषारण्ये वाराणस्यां विशेषतः ॥

3. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, Vol. I, pp. 201, 261.

Magh and Portuguese pirates in Lower Bengal. The practice of dedicating children to the goddess Gaṅgā in the waters of the confluence at Gaṅgāsāgara prevalent in that age in South-West Bengal and the neighbourhood is well known to all students of Indian history. Medieval Bengali literature refers to the belief that a person offering to die in the waters of Gaṅgāsāgara with a solemn desire is sure to get it fulfilled in his next life. Caṇḍīdāsa's *Śrīkṛṣṇakīrtana* (14th or 15th century) has the passage :

सागरसंगम गिया गायेर मास काटिया
आपना मगर भोज दिया ।
सागरसगमजल त्यजिब मो कलेवरे

In the sixteenth century Jayānanda, a poet of the Burdwan region, wrote in his *Caitanyamaṅgala* :

आर रमणी बले गंगासागरे मरिब

In the same century, *Kavikaṅkaṇa* Mukundarāma put the following words in the mouth of Śrīmanta, one of the heroes of his *Caṇḍīmaṅgala* :

खण्डिया विधिर याम्य सागरे करिब काम्य
पूजा करि सङ्केतमाधव ।
भुञ्जिया संसारसुख देखिब बापेर मुख
पुनरपि हइया मानव ॥

Śrīmanta is also represented as saying :

यदि वा पितार सङ्गे नहे दरशन ।
कामना करिया मोर सागरे मरण ॥

Elsewhere in the same work, one of the jealous ladies, who were comparing their own husbands unfavourably with Gaurī's bridegroom (Śiva), is found saying :

आर युवती बले आमि मन्दार याब ।
कामना करिया गिया सागरे मरिब ॥[1]

A number of medieval Sanskrit works such as the *Gaṅgā-vākyāvālī*, attributed to the Maithila writer Vidyāpati (*circa*

1. *Vide* C. C. Banerji, *Caṇḍīmaṅgalabodhinī*, pp. 822, 857 *Sāgara* has been used to mean *Gaṅgāsāgara*.

1375-1450), and the *Tīrthacintāmaṇi* of Maithila Vācaspatimiśra (*circa* 1425-80), which is divided into five Prakāśas, *viz*. Prayāga, Puruṣottama (Purī), Gaṅgā, Gayā and Vārāṇasī and deals with topics like the purpose of pilgrimage, its preliminaries, rites to be performed at the *tīrthas*, subsidiary holy places at the principal *tīrthas*, etc., make prominent mention of the Gaṅgāsāgara *tīrtha*. The most valuable information about the religious and monastic establishment at Gaṅgāsāgara, one of the greatest and oldest Indian *tīrtha*, is however found in the *Tīrthasāra* composed by the Bengali writer Bhavadeva Nyāyālaṅkāra in Śaka 1651 (1729 A.D.). This work shows that, as late as the first half of the eighteenth century, considerable parts of the old city existed and that people flocked to the *tīrtha* with a desire to touch the feet of Pitāhamaha (Brahman), to have a bath in the waters of the Mandākinī (Gaṅgā on her way to Pātāla) and to worship the images of Mādhava (Viṣṇu) named after an ancient local king of that name, Amaraśaṅkara (Śiva), Kapila (founder of the Sāṅkhya system of Indian philosophy, mythologically represented as a sage indirectly responsible for the digging up of the beds of the oceans by the sons of Sagara as well as for the descent of the Gaṅgā on the earth and regarded as an *Avatāra* of Viṣṇu), Skanda-Kārttikeya and Hari (Viṣṇu).[1]

The city of Gaṅgāsāgara seems to have been often encroached upon by the sea and affected by the occasional changes in the surface of the land caused by the silting up of one or other of the

1. Cf. *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXII, p. 128 : माधवनामा नृप आसीत्तस्य देशस्य । तेन स्थापितो माधवनामा विष्णुस्तत्प्रतिमा । तदधिष्ठानचिह्नेन तीर्थस्य परिचयः कृतः । ....तत्र कपिलनाममुनिप्रतिमास्ति । .... तत्र मन्दाकिनी पातालगा गंगा तिष्ठति । . . . . कार्त्तिकेयप्रतिमा तत्रास्ति । . . . . हरिप्रतिमा तिष्ठति ।....

शंकरः कपिलश्चैव श्वेतद्वीपपतिस्तथा ।
द्वीपे साधारणः स्कन्दः पंचमश्च महोदधिः ॥

इति स्कान्दे । शंकरः अमरशंकरः । श्वेतद्वीपपतिर्माधवः ।

कपिलस्य मुखं दृष्ट्वा स्पृष्ट्वा पैतामहं पदम् ।
तद्गंगोदकं पीत्वा पुनर्जन्म न विद्यते ॥

mouths of the Ganges and by the creation of new mouths. The same reason seems to have been at the root of the rise, in different ages in the neighbourhood, of such market-towns as the ancient Tāmralipta, the medieval Saptagrāma and Hooghly and the modern Calcutta. But some of the old temples and images at Gaṅgāsāgara survived as late as 1842 A.D. when the remaining part of the ancient city was finally and completely washed away by the waves of the sea.[1] Just a year before the remnants of the last temple were swallowed up, a very interesting account of the 'Mela at Ganga Saugor' appeared in the *Friend of India*, Vol. VII, 1841, p. 70 : "...a mere sandbank, about a mile in length and about a quarter mile broad, of a crescent form with the wide sea opening in front and the back covered by a dense jungle. At one corner stands the solitary temple of the celebrated Sanyasi Cupil Mani (Kapilamuni)....The temple is the last remnant of what has evidently been a large monastic institution for devotees, the ruins of which may be walked over at low water. These ruins show that the buildings must have been very extensive as well as massy...' The Kapila temple is said to have been 'built of Concha stone brought from Orissa' and was in a precarious condition 'soon to moulder away'. It was inhabited by a number of mendicants, some of whom owed allegiance to a pontiff of distant Jaipur in Rajasthan. There were two stone images in the temple, one of Kapilamuni and the other of 'Mahdeb' (either Mādhava, i.e. Viṣṇu, or probably Mahādeva, i.e. Śiva). The correspondent of the *Friend of India* noticed an inscription in the temple, about the letters of which he remarks, "...yet are they like neither to things in heaven above or in the earth beneath, nor could the Sanyasis themselves decipher the hieroglyphics." The epigraph was supposed to contain a date which was believed to correspond to 430 or 437 A.D.[2] The above shows

1. *J.A.S.B.*, 1850, p. 538; *I.H.Q.*, *loc. cit.*

2. *J.A.S.B.*, *loc. cit.*; *I.H.Q. op. cit.*, p. 129. Yule and Burnell, in the *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. *Saugor*, *Saugor Island*, observe, "It is said once to have been populous, but in 1688 (the date is clearly wrong) to have been swept by a cyclone-wave. It is now a dense jungle haunted by tigers." Amongst the quotations in this work from earlier European authors, Hedges speaks of his visit in 1683 to the 'Pagodas at Sagor'. He further says, "James Price assured

clearly that the sea washed away the most important sacred place in Eastern India, associated with the names of an ancient Vaṅga king called Mādhava and the sage Kapila, just as Dvārakā, a West Indian *tīrtha* of all-India reputation, had been swallowed up by the waves of the Arabian Sea. But whereas an entirely new city, founded in the neighbourhood, was endowed by the people of the Pāśchātya division of India with the name and sancity of ancient Dvārakā, the inhabitants of the Bengal delta did practically nothing to preserve the sacred memory of Gaṅgāsāgara. The real purpose of pilgrimage to holy places in all the four extremities of India was to travel over the length and breadth of the whole land in order to know her properly and to feel the fundamental unity of the various elements in the Indian population. With the absence of Gaṅgāsāgara, there is no ancient *tīrtha* of all-India recognition in the eastern border of the country to attract pilgrims from other parts of India. This seems to be detrimental to the cause of the unity of the Indian people. The East Indians should think of rebuilding the great *tīrtha* at the junction of the Gaṅgā and the Sāgara in all its ancient glory.

me that about 40 years since, when the Island called Gonga Sagur was inhabited, the Raja of the Island gathered yearly rent out of it to the amount of 2 lacks of rupees." In 1705, Luillier spoke of the temple at 'Sagore' and of two famous ascetics residing there, while in 1727 Hamilton says, ".....among the Pagans, the Island Sagor is accounted holy, and great number of Jougies (asectics) go yearly thither in the months of November and December to worship and wash in salt water, though many of them fall sacrifices to the hungry tigers." The account of Hedges suggests that the Island was once severely hit by a cyclone about the middle of the seventeenth century.

XII

VĀHLIKA AND VĀHIKA

Elsewhere we have tried to show that very often in inscriptions and literary works we get, in connection with the description of a powerful king's *dig-vijaya* (conquest of the four quarters, or of 'the whole earth'), the traditional boundaries of the conventional *cakravarti-kṣetra.*[1] These boundaries are generally : (1) The Himālaya, Badarikāśrama on the Gandha-mādana, the country near the Vaṁkṣu (Oxus), or the like, in the north; (2) the Udaya mountain (mythical), the Eastern Sea (Bay of Bengal), the Lauhitya, Vaṅga, or the like, in the east ; (3) the Malaya mountain, the Mahendra mountain, the Scuthern Sea (Indian Ocean), Ceylon, or the like, in the south ; and (4) the Asta mountain (mythical), the Mandara mountain (mythical), the Western Sea (Arabian Sea), the Pārasika country, or the like, in the west. In that connection we have also tried to prove that the Meharauli pillar inscription describing the *dig-vijaya* of a king named Candra (i.e. Candragupta II) in the verses :

> यस्योद्वर्त्तयतः प्रतीपमुरसा शत्रून्समेत्यागतान्
> वङ्गेष्वाहववर्तिनोऽभिलिखिता खड्गेन कीर्त्तिर्भुजे ।
> तीर्त्वा सप्त मुखानि येन समरे सिन्धोर्ज्जिता वाह्लिका
> यस्याद्याप्यधिवास्यते जलनिधिर्वीर्य्यानिलैर्दक्षिणः ॥[2]

gives the following boundaries of the *Cakravarti-kṣetra* : (1) Vāhlika (spelt also with *b* for *v* and *ī* for *i*) in the north; (2) Vaṅga in the east ; (3) Southern Sea in the south and (4) the seven mouths of the Indus (all falling into the Western or Arabian Sea) in the west. The Vāhlika-Bāhlika-Vāhlīka-Bāhlīka country is certainly the modern Balkh region on the Oxus in the northern part of Afghanistan.[3]

1. See above, pp. 8 ff.
2. *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 141, verse 1.
3. See above, p. 23, note 6.

According to a celebrated historian,[1] the country of the Vāhlikas mentioned in the Meharauli pillar inscription, which speaks of the pillar being raised on the Viṣṇupada, has to be placed on the Beas (Vipāśā) on the strength of a verse found in the *Rāmāyaṇa* as follows :

ययुर्मध्येन वाह्लीकान्सुदामानं च पर्वतम् ।
विष्णोः पदं प्रेक्षमाणा विपाशां चापि शाल्मलीम् ॥[2]

"They went through the Vālhīka country to Mount Sudāman, viewing Viṣṇupada and also the Vipāśā and the Śālmalī."

And the following conclusion has been drawn on the basis of it : "It will be seen from this verse that Viṣṇupada, Vipāśā and Śālmalī, if not even Sudāman, were all in the Vāhlīka country and close to one another......... these places were in the close proximity of the Vipāśā which, we know, is the modern Beas, where it is joined by another river, the Śālmalī."[3]

The suggestion that the country watered by the Beas was called Vāhlīka or Bāhlīka is however certainly wrong. Numerous passages can be quoted from the epic, Puranic and classical Sanskrit literature to prove that the Punjab=Pañcanada, 'the land of the Five Rivers' (one of the five being the Beas), was in ancient times called the Vāhīka country, and there is absolutely no doubt that the reading *Vālhīkān* in the passage quoted from the *Rāmāyaṇa* is a mistake for *Vāhīkān*. A flood of light on the the ancient Vāhīka country and its people is thrown by several chapters of the Karṇaparvan of the *Mahābhārata*. We have therein (Ch. 44) the following verses regarding the geography of this country :

पञ्चानां सिन्धुषष्ठाणां नदीनां येऽन्तरा स्थिताः ।
तान्धर्मबाह्यानशुचीन्वाहीकानपि वर्जयेत् ॥ ७

* * *

साकलं नाम नगरमापगा नाम निम्नगा ।
जार्तिका नाम वाहीकास्तेषां वृत्तं सुनिन्दितम् ॥ १०

* * *

1. See D.R. Bhandarkar in *Journ. Andh. Hist. Res. Soc.*, Vo . X, pp. 86 ff.
2. *Rāmāyaṇa*, II, 68, verses 18-19.
3. *Op. cit.*, p. 87.

पञ्च नद्यो वहन्त्येता यत्र पीलुवनान्युत ।
शतद्रुश्च विपाशा च तृतीयैरावती तथा ।। ३१
चन्द्रभागा वितस्ता च सिन्धुषष्ठा बहिर्गिरेः ।
आरट्टा नाम ते देशा नष्टधर्मा न तान्व्रजेत् ।। ३२

* * *

पञ्चनद्यो वहन्त्येता यत्र निःसृत्य पर्वतात् ।
आरट्टा नाम वाहीका न तेष्वार्यो द्व्यहं वसेत् ।। ४०

The above verses and several others from the Karṇaparvan (Chs.44-45) prove that the kingdom (or the people) over which Śalya ruled was generally referred to as Pañcanada or Vāhīka and specifically as Madraka, Jārtika and Āraṭṭa. In other words, the Madrakas, Jārtikas and Āraṭṭas were generally designated as Pañcanada and Vāhīka. There is however one verse which suggests that Vāhīka was originally the name of a country or people on the Beas (Vipāśā) :

वहिश्च नाम ह्लीकश्च विपाशायां पिशाचकौ ।
तयोरपत्यं वाहीका नैषा सृष्टिः प्रजापतेः ।।[1]

"In the Vipāśā, there were two Piśācas named Vahi and Hīka ; their descendants are called the Vāhīkas who are not the creation of Prajāpati."

The geography of this well-known Vāhīka country has been discussed by a number of scholars. Reference may be made to Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, Calcutta, 1924, pp. 247, 686-87, and V. S. Agrawala's 'Patañjali and the Vāhīka-grāmas' in the *Indian Culture*, Vol. VI 1939, pp. 129 ff. In view of the voluminous evidence regarding the existence of a Vāhīka country near the Vipāśā, no Vāhlīka (which is no doubt a mis-lection for Vāhīka) country can be located in the same region on the strength of a solitary passage of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

If the Vāhīkas were originally a people living on the Beas, we have to explain how the sense of the word *Vāhīka* expanded so as to indicate all the tribes living in Pañcanada, i.e. the Punjab. It is interesting in this connection to note that the *Mahābhārata* sometimes uses the terms Vāhīka, Madra, Jārtika,

1. *Mahābhārata*, Karṇaparvan, Ch. 44. verse 10. The Madrakas lived in the Sialkot region. The Jārtikas are the modern Jāts.

Āraṭṭa and Pañcanada synonymously. It therefore appears that the lands of the tribes which lived close to one another in the Punjab became in course of time moulded into a big kingdom under the powerful kings of Śākala (Sialkot). As Vāhīka was beyond Kuru-kṣetra and therefore say outside the boundary of Brahmāvarta,[1] its analogical connection with the word *bahis* may have been another cause of the expansion of its geographical sense.

1. *Ibid.*, VII, 41, 6

XIII

MALAYA AND MAHIṢA

A

There has been some criticism of the view that 'Malaya is the southern end of the Western Ghats'. The critic says, "The Purāṇas do not help us in locating the Malaya mountain."[1] But his views appear to go against the evidence supplied by the Puranic sections on Indian geography.

It is well known that the *Mārkaṇḍeya*, *Vāyu*, *Kūrma*, *Matsya*, *Vāmana* and *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas* contain a long list and the *Viṣṇu*, *Brahma* and *Śiva Purāṇas* a short list of the Indian rivers. According to both these lists, the rivers Kṛtamālā and Tāmraparṇī issue from the Malaya mountain.[2] Even the shortest list of rivers found in the *Agni Purāṇa* speaks of the Kṛtamālā as rising from the Malaya. Of the two rivers mentioned above, Tāmraparṇī, still known by practically that name, flows from the southern part of the Western Ghats to the Bay of Bengal. The celebrated ports of Korkai and Kayal stood on its banks. The identification of the Kṛtamālā with the modern Vaigai running by Madurai or Dakṣiṇa-Mathurā is corroborated by the *Caitanyacaritāmṛta*, an old biography of the Bengali Vaiṣṇava saint Caitanya (1485-1534 A.D.). It is clearly stated in this work that Caitanya took his bath in the waters of the holy Kṛtamālā at Dakṣiṇa-Mathurā in the course of his tours of pilgrimage in South India.[3]

The evidence of the Purāṇas definitely locates the Kul-ācala or Kula-parvata (literally, a mountain associated with certain tribes) called Malaya, which was the source of the Tāmraparṇī and Kṛtamālā (Vaigai) rivers running through the Pāṇḍya

1. See C. Kunhan Raja in *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 223-27.

2. See above, p. 52, note 5; p. 56, note 10.

3. For the identification of the Malaya, see Raychaudhuri, *Stud. Ind. Ant.*, pp. 109ff.; Pargiter, *Mark. Pur.*, trans., pp. 285, 303-04; Dey, *Geog. Dict.*, s.v. See also above, p. 52, note 5; p. 53, note 2.

country, at the extreme southern end of the Western Ghats. The name of this mountain no doubt lies at the root of the names Malayāḷam and Malabar; but reference has been made to certain 'conflicting evidences' that would suggest the location of the Malaya elsewhere.[1]

As a matter of fact however the Kula or tribal mountain called Malaya cannot be located in any other place excepting the southern end of the Western Ghats although there were probably other hills called Malaya which may have given rise to the 'conflicting evidences'. We know that the hilly region of Cental Ceylon was known by the name Malaya and one of the heirs of the Ceylonese kings was often styled *Malaya-rāja*. A Viṣṇukuṇḍin inscription speaks of Prince Mādhavavarman II, who had his headquarters at Amarapura (i.e. Amarāvatī near Vijayavāḍa), as *Trikūṭa-Malaya-ādhipati*, probably indicating 'governor of the provinces of Trikūṭa and Malaya.' Since the name *Malaya* is derived from the Dravidian word *malai* meaning 'hill,' it is not improbable that this word affixed to the end of the names of certain South Indian hills was often Sanskritised as *malaya* and thus gave rise to a confusion. The tendency to Sanskritisation is still noticed in the name Madra-maṇḍala applied to the Madras State (in spite of the fact that the ancient Madra people lived in the Punjab with their capital at Śākala, i.e. modern Sialkot), and we can understand the working of the mind of a Sanskritist if he would refer to Tiru-malai and Anna-malai respectively as Śrī-malaya (or Tri-malaya) and Anna-malaya. But there is absolutely no doubt as to the location of the celebrated Malaya Kul-ācala (Kula-parvata) at the southern end of the Western Ghats.

B

A famous historian has recently discovered the existence of several hitherto unknown kings and ruling families of ancient India such as Mahiṣa[2] (or Mahiṣya)[3] and Sebaka.[4] These

1. Cf. C. Kunhan Raja in *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 69.
2. V. V. Mirashi in *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. XI, pp. 1 ff.
3. *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 24 ff.
4. *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 107 f.

dynastic names, derived according to him from those of the progenitors of the families in question, are said to have been found on certain coins of about the second or third century A.D. Without a proper examination of the coins, nothing can be said for or against the existence of the above dynasties. But a word may be said about the location of the country associated with a ruling family or a people called Mahiṣa.

The historian has quoted passages from the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* to show that the Mahiṣa country 'was situated in [the] Southern Deccan'.[1] He further says, "The royal name Mahiṣa (or Mahiṣya) was probably derived from the country of Māhiṣaka or Mahiṣa-maṇḍala where this family was ruling. In my previous article on this Śaka king Māna, I followed Rapson in supporting that Māhiṣaka was the country round Māhiṣmatī, modern Oṅkār Māndhātā in the Nemāḍ District of the Central Provinces. Since then the provenance of these coins has become known. As stated before, they were found in the excavations at Kondapur and Maski in the Hyderabad State. The country under the rule of the Mahiṣa dynasty seems therefore to have been the southern portion of the Hyderabad State."[2] It may be pointed out in this connection that there is definite epigraphic evidence regarding the existence of a tract of land associated with a people or a royal family called Mahiṣa in the Mysore State which is not very far from 'the southern portion of the Hyderabad State'.

An inscription of the Kadamba king Viṣṇuvarman I (about the end of the fifth century)[3] was found in a village in the Tumkur Taluk of the Tumkur District in the northern part of the Mysore State. This is the Hebbata grant published in the *Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department* for 1925.[4] The grant was issued by Kadamba Viṣṇuvarman I in his fifth regnal year, when the king was staying at the *adhiṣṭhāna* (mean-

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 4.
2. *Loc. cit.*
3. See *The Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, p. 393.
4. See *op. cit.*, p. 98, Plate X.

ing 'a city') of Kūḍalūr. By this grant, Viṣṇuvarman I created an *agrahāra* of the village called Herbbaṭa situated in the Sāṭṭi-palli-Jāripāṭa division of the Mahiṣa *viṣaya* (district) and offered it with *dakṣiṇā* and libation of water, in accordance with the *brahmadeya-nyāya*, to a Yajurvedīya Brāhmaṇa belonging to the Badira family or clan and to the Gautama *gotra*. It seems clear from this inscription that the present Tumkur area in the Mysore State was known in the fifth century A.D. as the Mahiṣa territory which formed a part of the dominions of the Early Kadamba kings. While discussing the evidence of this interesting inscription, we observed elsewhere, "The name of the Mahiṣa *viṣaya* (cf. Māhiṣaka of the Puranic lists) is evidently the source from which the present Mysore (Mahiṣūr) has derived its name."[1] It seems to us that the original name of Mysore was derived from the words *Mahiṣa* and *ūr* and signified 'the city of the Mahiṣas'. Whatever however be the value of this suggestion, the Hebbata grant of the Kadamba king Viṣṇuvarman leaves no room for doubt that the northern part of the present Mysore State was known in ancient times as the Mahiṣa country. Whether this country included, towards the north, the present Kondapur and Maski areas of Southern Hyderabad, at least in a particular period of history, can hardly be determined in the present state of our knowledge. But it is by no means improbable. We know that, in ancient records, the extent of a country is often differently indicated. Thus Tāmraplipta is mentioned in literature sometimes as an independent state, sometimes as a part of Suhma and sometimes as a part of Vaṅga. Similarly, Taxila (Takṣaśilā) is sometimes represented as an independent kingdom, sometimes as a part of Gandhāra and sometimes as a part of Uraśā (roughly the modern Hazara District of the North-West Frontier region of West Pakistan).[2] This is no doubt due to the fact, also supported by modern history, that a small kingdom

1. *The Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, p. 293, p. 216, note.
2. See *ibid.*, p. 216, note; also H. C. Raychaudhuri, *Studies in Indian Antiquities*, pp. 186 f. Raychaudhuri further points out how the city of Uragapura sometimes belonged to the Cola but sometimes to the Pāṇḍya kingdom. Similarly Koṭivarṣa (the modern Dinajpur District) was sometimes included in the Puṇḍravardhana *bhukti* but sometimes in Rāḍha. See also above, p. 157.

retained its old name even when it was expanded to cover wide areas. It may be recalled in this connection that with the rise of Kanarese powers like the Cālūkyas, Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the houses of Vijayanagara, the name Karṇāṭa and Kuntala extended over wide regions outside the Kannaḍa-speaking area.[1] Since the English East India Company extended its power over extensive areas of Northern India from their base in Bengal, the Company's dominions in North India, including the present Bihar and the major part of Uttar Pradesh, were for a long time known as the Presidency of Bengal.

Sometimes, however, it is seen that a tract of land, later annexed to a kingdom, retains the name of the latter even when the heart of the kingdom itself comes in a later epoch to be known by a different name. We have referred above to the more recent case of Karṇātaka in the Tamil land, which owes its origin to the expansion of the Vijayanagara empire outside the original Karṇāṭa country. The ancient names Andhrāpatha near the mouths of the Kṛṣṇā, Sātavāhanīya-rāṣṭra or Sātavāhanīy-āhāra in the present Bellary District and Nalavāḍi in the present Bellary-Anantapur region may possibly offer older instances of the same type, as the hearts of the Sātavāhana (Andhra) and Nala countries probably lay elsewhere. But, in the absence of any clear evidence to the contrary, it is possibly better, in the present state of our knowledge, to believe that the heart of the ancient Mahiṣa country lay in the present Mysore State.

The name Mahiṣa, applied to a people and their land, must have originally derived from the totem of the said people. It is thus possible to think that there were more settlements of the Mahiṣa people in different parts of the country than one. Māhiṣamatī on the Narmadā seems also to owe its name to the Mahiṣas. But there is as yet no genuine evidence (excepting doubtfully read legends of a few coins) to show that the southern part of the former Hyderabad State was known as the Mahiṣa country.

1. Note how the name Karṇāṭaka (Carnatic) came to be applied to the dominions of the Nawabs of Arcoti n the Tamil country. See above, pp. 155 ff.; cf. pp.60, 89-90 Cf. also the case of Gandhāra (Raychaudhuri, *P. H.A.I.*, p. 202).

XIV

KṚMILĀ

The Monghyr plate of king Devapāla (*circa* 810-50 A.D.) of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal and Bihar was discovered as early as 1780. It was first published in 1788 in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol.I, pp. 13 ff. The inscription was re-edited by F. Kielhorn in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXI, 1892, pp. 254 ff.; by A. K. Maitreya in the *Gauḍalekhamālā*, B.S. 1319 (1913 A.D.), pp. 33 ff.; and by L. D. Barnett in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVIII, 1925-26, pp. 304 ff.

The grant was issued by the *Paramasaugata-Parameśvara-Parambhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja* Devapāladeva in the 33rd year of his reign from his *jaya-skandhāvāra* at Mudga-giri, *i.e.* modern Monghyr, the headquarters of a District of that name in Bihar. By this charter, the Pāla king granted the village called Meṣikā-grāma in favour of a Brāhmaṇa named Vihekarāta-miśra. The village was situated in the *viṣaya* or district of Kṛmilā which formed a part of the *bhukti* or province of Śrīnagara. From the inscriptions of the Pālas, we come to know of the existence of two *bhuktis* or provinces in Bihar, viz., Śrīnagara-bhukti and Tīra-bhukti.[1] The word *tīra* refers to the banks of the Ganges. Tīra-bhukti is the same as the modern Tirhut Division and apparently indicated parts of Bihar lying to the north of that river. The expression *Śrī-nagara* meaning 'the illustrious city,' *i.e.*, the city *par excellence*, referred to the celebrated ancient city of Pāṭaliputra (of which the modern representative is Pāṭnā derived from Sanskrit *pattana* or township) and the Śrīnagara *bhukti* no doubt included the districts of South Bihar having their administrative headquarters at the above city.[2] Of the *viṣayas* or districts forming the Tīra *bhukti* in the age of the Pālas, we know only of the Kakṣa *viṣaya*, and, of those forming the Śrīnagara

1. *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, Dacca University, p. 273.

2. Cf. the commentary on Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra*, VI, 5, 30: *Nāgarikā iti Pāṭaliputrikāḥ*, etc.

bhukti, such districts as Gayā-viṣaya, Rājagṛha-viṣaya and Kṛmilā-viṣaya are known from inscriptions.[1] Of these *viṣayas*, those of Gayā and Rājagṛha can be easily identified as the tracts of land round respectively the modern towns of Gayā and Rājgir (*i.e.*, Rājagṛha), the latter being now situated in the administrative division known as the Patna District of Bihar. But the exact situation of Kakṣa *viṣaya* in the Tīra *bhukti* and the Kṛmilā-*viṣaya* in the Śrīnagara *bhukti* could not be satisfactorily determined. Recently we discovered certain new inscriptions of the Pāla period, which throw interesting light on the location of the Kṛmilā *viṣaya*.

About the begining of January 1950, I visited, in course of a search for inscriptions, certain villages in the neighbourhood of the Kiul and Luckeesarai railway stations on the former East Indian Railway (now Eastern Railway) about the western fringe of the Monghyr District of Bihar. Long ago, Alexander Cunningham made an epigraphical survey of many villages of South Bihar and the interesting results of that survey are recorded in his celebrated Reports. But it is doubtful if it was possible for him to visit all the villages. Moreover, images both inscribed and uninscribed, are being discovered every year in various villages of that area at the point of the cultivator's ploughshare and the workman's spade and a large number of them, discovered after Cunningham's survey, have accumulated in many villages. There is no doubt that many of such images have often been carried away from the find-spots by interested persons ; but the epigraphic survey conducted by me only in a few villages convinced me fully that very good results may still be obtained if the images (unfortunately broken in most cases), scattered over almost all old villages in South Bihar, are made the object of a careful search in the line initiated by Cunningham more than eighty years back but not seriously continued afterwards.

There is a village called Valgūdar (often said to be Vargūjar), near Rajauna and Chauki, on the side of the railway line between the Luckeesarai and Mankatha railway stations.

1. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, pp. 274, 400.

I visited the village on the 9th of January and discovered no less than three interesting inscriptions. A stone pedestal of a lost image in a locality, called Saṅgat owing to its being a Sikh religious establishment in the village, was found to bear a very important inscription dated both in the 18th regnal year of king Madanapāla of the Pāla dynasty and in the Śaka year 1083. The importance of the date of this record has been discussed elsewhere; but the fact it records is no less interesting. It says that two Vaiṣṇava brothers of a Brāhmana family established an image of the god Nārāyaṇa at Krimilā. The second inscription discovered and examined by me at Valgūdar was found on a broken image of a goddess with a child on her lap and with a lion as her emblem, lying in the veranda of the Kutchery of Babu Dalipnarayan Sinha who is a zamindar of Bhagalpur. It may be mentioned here that images representing the Devī with a child seem to have been very popular in all parts of South Bihar. We have noticed such images in many villages. One such image is now in the Asutosh Museum of Indian Art of the University of Calcutta and it bears an inscription of the time of Rāmapāla. The find-spot of this image also seems to us to be some village of South Bihar. A similar image at Rajauna near Valgūdar is known, from the inscription on it, to have been called Puṇḍeśvarī. It is possible that this rural deity, apparently not unconnected with the conception of Pārvatī with Skanda on her lap as indicated by the theme of Kālidāsa's *Kumārasambhava*, and of the Buddhist Hārītī, was worshipped under different local names in various localities.[1] The inscription on the Valgūdar image of the Devī with a child says that it was installed by a person named Nṛkaṭṭa at the *adhiṣṭhāna* or city of Kṛmilā. It may be

1. A similar image, but with four arms and without the lion emblem, was found near Dacca and has been tentatively identified by Bhattasali (*Iconography*, pp. 63 ff.; Plate XX) with Hārītī. Another form of the same primitive Mother-goddess with a child on her lap was conceived with a snake-canopy over her head and was worshipped both in Bihar and Benga. I found one such image on the bank of the Saṁsārpokhrī at Luckeesarai.l In Bengal, this deity later came to be identified with the snake-goddess Manasā (cf. *ibid.*, pp. 212 ff. ; *His. Beng.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 460 f.); but that she was originally worshipped under different local names is suggested by the Marāil (Dinajpur District) image of the goddess known to have been called Bhaṭṭiṇī Maṭṭuvā.

XV

CAURĀSĪ

Caurāsī as a geographical unit indicating a group of 84 villages is known from different parts of India. There is a group of villages called Bhināikī Caurāsī near Ajmer in Rajasthan and it is probably mentioned as Caturaśīti in the fragmentary Barli inscription[1] of the first century B. C. Caurāsī is also a Pargana in the Mirzapur District of U.P., while Corāsī (Caurāsī) is a Subdivision of the Surat District of Bombay. There is a village called Caurāsī in the Sadar Subdivision of the Purī District of Orissa. This village likewise seems to have been originally the headquarters of a geographical and administrative unit consisting of 84 villages. That it had some importance in the past is possibly indicated by its yielding of a copper-plate inscription of the Bhauma-Kara monarch Śivakara II who flourished about the end of the ninth century A.D.[2] It seems that there are other areas similarly called Caurāsī in different parts of the country. *Caturaśīti*, the Sanskrit form of *Caurāsī*, is found in a number of ancient Indian records.

A copper-plate inscription, dated Śaka 734 (812-13 A.D.), of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa chief Kakka II Suvarṇavarṣa of Lāṭa or Gujarāt was published in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XII, pp. 156 ff. It records the grant of the village of Vaḍapadraka in the Aṅkoṭṭaka eighty-four (*Aṅkoṭṭaka-caturaśīti-antarggata-Vaḍapadrak-ābhidhāna-grāma*). Aṅkoṭṭaka is modern Akoṭa, a suburb of Baroda (Vaḍapadraka). The Set-Mahet plate[3] of the Gāhaḍavāla king Govindracandra, dated Vikrama Saṁvat 1186 (1130 A.D.), records the grant of certain villages in the *Pattalā* or district called Vādā (or, Vājā) *Caturaśīti*. Another grant[4] of Madanapāla dated V.S. 1164 (1108 A.D.), similarly speaks

1. *J.B.R.S.*, Vol. XL, Part i, pp. 3-4.
2. Cf. *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 292 ff.
3. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, pp. 20 ff.
4. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 176. Cf. Ratnapura-caturāsikā and Caturuttara-caturāsikā in Gujarāt (Majumdar, *Chaulukyas*, pp. 211-12.)

of the gift of a village in Mānighapura-Caturāsikā, in which *Caturāsikā* is no doubt the same as *Caturaśītikā* or *Caurāsī.* It should, however, not be supposed that only the word 'eighty-four' is associated with the names of districts. We have numerous other numbers similarly associated with geographical units.[1] A *Pratijāgaraṇaka* or Parganā within the dominions of the Paramāra kings of Malwa is called Saptāśīti-pratijāgaraṇaka (*i.e.* Parganā consisting of eighty-seven villages) in an inscription of V.S. 1331.[2] But such numbers as 87 were not as popular as 84 in the context of geographical names.

In the inscriptions of the Kannaḍa-speaking area, territorial units are often mentioned along with a number exactly as in Bhināikī Caurāsī and Aṅkoṭṭaka-caturaśīti; e.g., Gaṅgavāḍi ninety-six thousands, Raṭṭappāḍi seven and a half lakhs, Banavāsi twelve thousands, Alande one thousand, Purigere three hundreds, etc., etc. Similar instances are sometimes found also in the records of other parts of the country. Although there is possibly some exaggeration in some of these cases speaking of very big numbers, there is no doubt that the reference in such cases is to villages which may have been in many cases very small or even nominal. As regards territorial units with smaller, numbers, we may mention Nirugundagi twelve, Puriddha ten, Tamba six, Koṇḍavati two, etc., etc.

Considering the abnornally high numbers mentioned with some of the names and the fact that it is palpably impossible to believe that the small district of Gaṅgavāḍi could actually claim more than only a fraction of 96000 'villages' if a village is understood in its modern sense, we were formerly reluctant to

1. Cf. *e.g.*, the *Pattalā* named Rudamaua-bayālisī in Govindacandra's Kamauli plate of V. S. 1190 (1133 A.D.), published in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, pp. 111-12. In this name *bayālisī* means 'forty-two'. An inscription (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII., pp. 344 ff.) of Paramāra Udayāditya, dated V. S. 1229 (1171 A.D.), mentions the area around Bhilsa in the former Gwalior State as Bhāillasvāmi-mahādvādaśaka-maṇḍala (i.e. the district called Bhāillasvāmin consisting of twelve subdivisions). It also mentions a subdistrict consisting of sixty-four villages as the Bhṛṅgārikā-catuḥṣaṣṭi *pathaka* (cf. *Ep. Ind* Vol., XXX, pp. 210-11). A grant of the Somavaṁśī king Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I (*c.* 970-1000 A.D.) of Orissa mentions a district called Ṣaṇṇavati, *i.e.* ninety-six (No. 27 of *A.R. E.p.*, 1052-53, App. A).

2. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 140.

take the word *grāma*, even when specifically mentioned in such cases, in the sense of 'a village'; cf. the passage *trayāṇāṁ Mahārāṣṭrakāṇaṁ navanavati-sahasra-grāma-bhājām* occurring in the celebrated Aihole inscription[1] of Pulakeśin II and referring to the three Mahārāṣṭras as having no less than 99000 *grāmas*. Thus in the name Veṅgīpura-viṣaya-grāma-sahasra, sometimes called Veṅgī-sahasra, we were inclined to interpret the word *grāma* as 'what is the subject of an assessment'.[2] This appeared to be justified by the fact that the Malkapuram inscription[3] of Śaka 1183 (1261 A.D.) refers to a grant of no less than three lakhs of *grāmas* in Ḍāhala-maṇḍala (the modern Jubbulpur area) lying between the Ganges and the Narmadā by the Kalachuri king Yuvarāja (I or II, probably the latter) in favour of a Śaiva saint named Sadbhāvaśambhu,[5] as it is impossible to believe that even the whole kingdom of the Kalachuri king had nearly 50000 villages in the modern sense of the term. There is, however, some evidence to show that the word *grāma* was used in such cases in the sense of a village whatever its size and nature may have been.

In the Aland (ancient *Alande*) inscription of *Yuvarāja* Mallikārjuna, published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 31 ff., Alande itself is mentioned as the *modala-vāḍa* or 'foremost village' of Alande-sāsira or 'Alande one thousand.' This makes it clear that the geographical and administrative unit of Alande consisted of one thousand *vāḍas* or villages, of which the village of Alande was the foremost; that is to say, it was the headquarters of the district in question. It has been reported to us that the people of Kuknūr even now quote an old list, traditionally handed down, of the thirty villages which formed the ancient administrative unit called 'Kuknūr thirty' and that all these villages can be traced in the area around Kuknūr even to-day. It is also interesting to note that an

1. Cf. *ibid.*, Vol. VI, pp. 1 ff.
2. Cf. *The Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, p. 400.
3. *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. IV, pp. 156-57.
4. Cf. भागीरथीनर्मदयोर्मध्यं डाहलमंडलम्....तस्मै निस्पृहचेतसे कलचुरिक्ष्मापालचूडामणिर्ग्रामाणां नृपतिर्भिक्षां त्रिलक्षीं ददौ।

inscription mentions Kukn̈ūr as the foremost (*i.e.* headquaters) of thirty *grāmas*.[1]

The conclusion seems to be supported by a section of the *Skanda Purāṇa*[2] apparently interpolated into the original work sometime in the medieval period.[3] This section says how the *nava-khaṇḍa* Bhārata, *i.e.* Bhārata-varṣa consisting of nine divisions, was subdivided into seventy-two *vibhedas* or subdivisions, and quotes a list of the seventy-two (actually, seventy-five) countries together with the number of *grāmas* contained in each one of them. The list is introduced by the verse :

तेषां नामानि ग्रामांश्च पत्तनानि च फाल्गुन ।
वेलाकूलानि संख्यां च वक्ष्यामि तव तत्त्वतः ॥

and ends with the following passage :

द्वासप्ततिरमी देशा ग्रामसंख्या प्रकीर्तिताः ।

The second of the two passages is followed by the statement that the entire Bhārata-khaṇḍa had 967200000 *pattanas* (towns) and 36000 *velākūlas* (harbours). It can hardly be doubted that the word *grāma* has been used in this context in the sense of 'a village.' But the fact that the list speaks only of *grāmas* and not of *pattanas*, etc., seems to suggest that for the purpose of enumeration the latter also were counted as *grāmas*. The list further shows that the traditional or conventional number of *grāmas* in a country as given in it could hardly have been true if the word *grāma* is taken exactly in its modern sense.

We quote below the list of countries together with the number of villages in each one of them.

Number	*Name of Country*	*Number of Grāmas*
1.	Nivṛt *maṇḍala*	4 crores
2.	Bālāka *deśa*	2½ ,,
3.	Purasāhaṇaka	1¼ ,,
4.	Aṁdhala or Amala (sic. Andhra)	4 lakhs
5.	Nepāla	1 lakh
6.	Kānyakubja	36 lakhs

1. त्रिशद्ग्रामाधिपतिश्रीकुक्कुनूह (*J.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XII, 1876, p. 43).
2. Māheśvara-khaṇḍa, Kumārikā-khaṇḍa, Ch. 39, verses 127 ff.
3. *J.R.A.S.B*, Vol. XIV, p. 25.

7.	Gājaṇaka or Mājaṇaka (i.e. Ghaznī or Ghazna)	72 ,,
8.	Gauḍa *deśa*	18 ,,
9.	Kāmarūpa	9 ,,
10.	Ḍāhala or Veda (sic. Cedi)	9 ,,
11.	Kāṁtipura	9 ,,
12.	Mācīpura (sic. Kāṁcīpura)	9 ,,
13.	Oḍḍiyāna *deśa* (in the Swat valley)	9 or 7 lakhs
14.	Jālaṁdhara	9 ,,
15.	Lohapura (i.e. Lahore)	9 ,,
19.	Pāṁbīpura	7 ,,
17.	Raṭarāja (i. e. Raṭṭa-rājya, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kingdom)	7 ,,
18.	Harīāla (sic. Hariyāṇa, the Delhi region)	5 ,,
19.	Draḍa or Draḍasya (sic. Draviḍa) *viṣaya*	3½ ,,
20.	Vaṁbhaṇavāhaka (i.e. Brāhmaṇavāha or Bahmanābād in the Hyderabad region of Sind)	3½ ,,
21	Nīlapura	21 thousands
22	Amala or Mala *viṣaya* (redundant; see No. 4)	1 lakh
23.	Nareṁdu (sic. Varendra) *deśa* (see No. 72 below)	1¼ lakhs
24.	Atilāṅgala (sic. Jāṅgala) *deśa*	1¼ ,,
25.	Mālava	118092
26.	Sayaṁbhara (Śākambhara) *deśa*	1¼ lakhs
27.	Mevāḍa (Medapāṭa)	1¼ ,,
28.	Vāguri	80 thousands
29.	Gujarātra (sic. Gurjaratrā, probably modern Gujarāt)	70 ,,
30.	Pāṁḍu (Pāṇḍya) *viṣaya*	70 ,,
31.	Jahāhuti (Jejābhukti, the Khajurāho region of Bundelkhand)	– 42 ,,
32.	Kāśmīra	68 ,,
33.	Kauṁkaṇa (Konkan)	63 ,,
34.	Laghu-Kauṁkaṇa (Smaller Konkan)	1422
35.	Sindhu	20 thousands

36.	Kaccha *maṇḍala*	1422
37.	Saurāṣṭra (Kathiawar)	55 thousands
38.	Lāḍa (Lāṭa, the Nausari-Bharoch region of Gujarāt)	21 „
39.	Atisindhu	10 „
40.	Aśvamukha	10 „
41.	Ekapāda	10 „
42.	Sūryamukha or Śūrpanakha (sic. Sūrpāraka, the Sopara region in the Thana District, Bombay)	10 „
43.	Ekabāhu *deśa*	10 „
44.	Saṁjāyu *deśa* (Sañjān in the Thana District ?)	10 „
45.	Śiva (Śibi) *deśa*	10 „
46.	Kālahayaṁjaya (Kālañjara ?)	10 „
47.	Liṅgodbhava *deśa*	10 „
48.	Bhadra	10 „
49.	Devabhadra	10 „
50.	Cāṭa	36 „
51.	Virāṭa (the Jaipur-Alwar-Bharatpur region of Rājasthān)	36 „
52.	Yamakoṭi (mythical city placed 90° east of the meridian of Laṅkā)	36 „
53.	Rāmaka (Romaka ?) *deśa*	18 crores
54.	Tomara	$1\frac{9}{4}$ lakhs
55.	Karṇāṭa	$1\frac{1}{4}$ „
56.	Yugala or Puṅgala	$1\frac{1}{4}$ „
57.	Strī-rājya	5 „
58.	Pulastya or Mulastya *viṣaya*	10 „
59.	Kāmboja	10 lakhs
60.	Kośala (North or South Kosala, possibly the latter in the Raipur-Bilaspur-Sambalpur region in Madhya Pradesh and Orissa)	10 „
61.	Bāhlika	4 „
62.	Laṅkā *deśa*	36 thousands
63.	Kuru *deśa*	46 thousands

64.	Kirāta-vijayojaya (sic. Kirāta *deśa*)	1¼ lakhs
65.	Vidarbhā (Vidarbha)	5 ,,
66.	Vardhamāna	14 thousands
67.	Siṁhala *dvīpa*	10 ,,
68.	Pāṁḍu *deśa* (probably in the Punjab ; see No. 30 above)	36 ,,
69.	Bhayānaka	1 lakh
70.	Māgadha (Magadha) *deśa*	66 thousands
71.	Pāṁgu or Pāṁḍu *deśa* (redundant ; see Nos. 30 and 68)	60 ,,
72.	Vareṁdu (redundant ; see No. 23 above)	30 ,,
73.	Mūlasthāna (i.e. Mūltān)	25 ,,
74.	Yāvana (Yavana)	40 ,,
75.	Pakṣabāhu or Yakṣabāhu	4 ,,

It may be pointed out that the text of the above Puranic section is not free from errors.[1] Some of the names show considerable Prakrit influence[2] while many of them are doubtful. There is however epigraphic support in favour of some of the traditional numbers of *grāmas* quoted in the list. Thus the Śākambhara or Śākambharī country is actually known to have been otherwise called *Sapādalakṣa* or 'one and a quarter lakhs'.[3]

The traditional numbers of villages in particular countries are also referred to in some other works. Vinayacandra's *Kāvyaśikṣā*, e.g., mentions Surāṣṭra 9 thousands, Lāṭa-deśa 21 thousands, Gurjaradeśa 70 thousands, Pārata 70 thousands, Ḍāhala 9 lakhs, Mālava 9 lakhs and 92, Kānyakubja 46 lakhs, etc.[4]

It should be pointed out that sometimes numbers mentioned with the name of a tract do not refer to villages but groups of them, although a distinction is made in such cases. The Udaypur

1. Nos, 22, 71 and 72 are redundant. The list also omits many well-known tracts.

2. *E.g.*, Nos. 20, 26, 27, 38

3. Cf. No. 26 above and Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 279, 356. For another Sapādalakṣa country in the Nizamabad-Karimnagar region of Andhra Pradesh, see *Jour. Or. Res.*, Vol. XVIII, Part i, p. 40. There was similarly a Pādonalakṣa (i.e. 'one lakh minus one quarter') country about the Shivapuri District in the former Gwalior State (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 68).

4. Rājaśekhara's *Kāvyamimāṁsā*, G. O. S. ed., pp. 248-49. Cf. Nos. 6, 10, 25, 29, 37 and 38 of the *Skanda Purāṇa* list quoted above.

(former Gwalior State, now in Madhya Pradesh) inscription of 1173 A.D. speaks of a village in Bhṛṅgārikā-catuḥṣaṣṭi-pathaka which formed a part of Bhāilasvāmi-mahādvādaśaka-maṇḍala.[1] It appears that the *pathaka* or subdistrict called 'Bhṛṅgārikā 64' consisted of sixty-four villages while the *maṇḍala* or district called 'Bhailasvāmin great-12' consisted of twelve subdistricts. The speciality of the second case has been indicated in the record by the introduction of the word *mahān* (great) prefixed to the number.

Geographical names of this kind were the most popular in the Kannaḍa-speaking are a than elsewhere in India. There is evidence to show that, in the said region, the idea of coining similar names was not unknown even in the fourth century A.D.[2]

1. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 344 ff.; see above, p. 199, note 1.

2. Cf. *The Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, p. 250 (Sahalāṭavī-grāmāhāra probably consisting of twelve villages), and p. 305 (Tagare-mahāgrāma consisting of twenty-four *Pallis*) referring to certain inscriptions of the Early Kadambas.

XVI

GONARDA[1]

The *Pārāyaṇa* incorporated in the Pali *Suttanipāta* is one of the most ancient Buddhist works. The parallel writings, attested by frequent mention, have disappeared. But the Pali text, guaranteed as it is by two commentaries, viz. the *Mahāniddesa* and the *Cullaniddesa* which too are very ancient, has an incontestable value. In the account which sets forth the introduction to the collection, the Brāhmaṇa Bāvari, emigrated from the 'charming city of the Kosalas' (*i.e.* Śrāvasti), comes to settle himself 'in the country of Assaka, in the vicinity of Muḷaka,[2] on the banks of the Godhāvarī'. He sends his disciples in a mission to the Buddha at his place of birth, i.e. Sāvatthi of the Kosalas. The poet sums up in three verses (1011-1013) the steps in their route : "Patiṭṭhāna of Muḷaka ; then the city of Māhissatī ; also Ujjenī and Gonaddha; Vedisā ; Vana-savhaya ; Kosambī ; and also Sāketa ; and the big city of Sāvatthi, Setavya, Kapilavatthu ; and the city of Kusīnārā ; and Pāvā ; Bhoga-nagara ; the Magadhan city of Vesālī and the Pāsāṇaka Cetiya."

The itinerary deserves the honour of a careful study. Here, however, I shall only occupy myself with the intermediate step between Ujjenī and Vedisā, two perfectly definite localities. The one is still now Ujjain to the north of Indore, lat. 23° 11′ 10″ N., and long. 75° 51′ 45″ E.; the other is Besnagar very near Bhilsa, lat. 23° 31′ 35″ N., and long. 77° 55″39′ E. The *Pārāyaṇa* places the city of Gonaddha between these two points.

The catalogue of the Yakṣas in the *Mahāmāyūrī*[3] follows an exactly identical order : "at Avanti the Yakṣa is Priyadarśana ; at Gonardana Śikhaṇḍin ; at Vaidiśa Añjalipriya." Avanti

1. [This is a translation of an article in French, entitled *Gonarda, le berceau du Gonardīya*, by Sylvain Lévi, which was published in the *Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes*, Vol. III (Orientalia), Part ii, pp. 197-205.]
2. [The name may also be spelt as *Mūlaka.*]
3. *Journ. Asiat.*, 1915, I, p. 43, verse 19.

is another name of Ujjayinī ; *Vaidiśa* is the Sanskrit form of Pali *Vedisa*. The name of the intermediate locality is fluctuating in the tradition of the manuscripts. I have reproduced the reading of the Mss O and H in the text ; but D reads *Gonardane*. Of the three Chinese versions, S transcribes *Kiu-kia-t'o-na*, which supposes an original *Gogardana* ; Y translates *You-hi*, 'Bull-joy', which restores *Gonandana* ; A translates *You-ts'oei*, 'Bull-compress', that is, *Gomardana*. The Tibetan translator has followed the same text (*Ba-laṅ 'joms*, 'Bull-compress'). The evidence of the *Suttanipāta* comes to confirm the reading *Gonardana*, because it is evident that, in both cases, the question is of the same locality. The Pali *Gonaddha* may be restored, without difficulty, to Sanskrit *Gonarda*. The aspiration, introduced subsidiarily in the Pali form, is a phenomenon which is nothing exceptional. In that very introduction to the *Pārāyaṇa*, we have already also met with the Sanskrit name of the Godāvarī, modified by aspiration of the dental in the interior of the word *Godhāvarī*. A list of analogous cases will be found, *e.g.*, in the *Pali* by Geiger, § 40 and § 62, and, for the Prakrits in general, in the *Grammatik der Prakrit Schprachen* by Pischel, § 207-209. In proper names, the phenomenon seems due generally to an erroneous interpretation ; *e.g.*, *Khanda*, 'the god Skanda', owes its aspiration to a confusion with *skandha*, 'the shoulder'; *Erāpatha*= *Airāvata*, 'the divine elephant', has suffered the contamination of *patha*, 'way' (as, in Sanskrit also, it has later suffered the contamination of *patra*, 'leaf', in becoming *Elāpatra*). One would have believed to recognise the word *godhā*, 'big lizard', in the first syllables of the name of the Godāvarī. Sanskrit *go-narda* (or *go-nardana* by developed suffixation) clearly signifies 'the lowing of the cow'. Passed to Prakrit under the form *gonadda* (or *go-naddana*), the word becomes unintelligible. The root *nard* seems to have submitted in Prakrit to the root *nad* from which it hardly differentiates itself. Moreover, the word *go* quite naturally suggested the word *naddha*, 'attached, bound'.

Whatever be the explanation, the equivalence Gonarda= Gonaddha is certain. The name of Gonarda is indissolubly

connected with the memory of Patañjali, 'the Gonardian', *Gonardīya*. A constant tradition attested by Kaiyaṭa, by the author of the *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa*, and by Hemacandra, identifies the personage designated by the name of *Gonardīya* in the *Mahābhāṣya* with the author of the *Mahābhāṣya*. Kielhorn, it is true, vigourously contested the value of that tradition[1] and maintained that the Gonardīya was the author of the Kārikā in verse, utilised and cited by Patañjali. The authority of Kielhorn in questions concerning the *Mahābhāṣya* surely deserves the highest consideration. But his interpretation is not in requisite contradiction of the Indian tradition. Patañjali might refer in the *Mahābhāṣya* to an anterior work which he had composed, designating himself with an appellation of impersonal character, derived from his place of birth. The geographical situation of Gonardaa lways agrees marvellously with the rare indications, which may be deduced from the *Mahābhāṣya*, for fixing the date of Patañjali. The two essential facts are : (1) the mention of Puṣyamitra, of his court (*sabhā*), and of his sacrifice (*iha Puṣyamitraṁ yājayāmaḥ*); (2) the mention of the Greek conquests in India (*aruṇad=Yavanaḥ Sāketam, aruṇad=Yavano Madhyamikām*). Now, Gonarda is the nearest step to Vidiśā. Vidiśā, according to the evidence of the accounts followed by Kālidāsa in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, was the capital where the son of Puṣyamitra resided in the capacity of a viceroy. And Vidiśā was also in close connections with Greek politics. The column of Besnagar, on the site of the ancient Vidiśā, preserves the memory of a Greek ambassador (*Yona-dūta*), Heliodorus, sent by the Greek king Antialkidas, to the Indian king Kāśīputra Bhāgabhadra. Moreover, the geographical horizon of the *Mahābhāṣya* sets itself harmoniously around the Gonarda-Vidiśā region as the centre. Excepting some general designations of territories, *e.g.* Vidarbha, Videha, Cola, Kerala, etc., which do not implicate any direct and personal knowledge, the names of localities, cities or towns form themselves in a sort of triangle, of which the base goes from Pāṭaliputra

1. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, pp. 81-83.

to the Punjab, and of which the apex reaches the lower Narmadā about Māhiṣmatī. Māhiṣmatī figures in the itinerary of the *Pārāyaṇa* as an intermediate step which the disciples of Bāvari, who started from Pratiṣṭhāna, reached on their way to Ujjayinī. Likewise the *Mahābhāṣya* has :

उज्जयिन्याः प्रस्थितो माहिष्मत्यां सूर्यमुद्गमयति ।[1]

A difficulty seems to oppose directly the location of Gonarda that I propose. The name of Gonarda is cited as that of a place 'in the land of the Orientals' in the *Candravṛtti*[2] and in the *Kāśikāvṛtti* on Pāṇini, I, 1,75, just for explaining the formation of the derivative *Gonardīya* without *vṛddhi*. Pāṇini says that, by exception, the dipthongs *e* and *o* should be considered as in the degree of *vṛddhi* (which is normally *ai* and *au*) in the names of places of the land of the Orientals (*eṅ prācāṁ deśe*). Candragomin reproduces this *sūtra* adapting it in his system (III, 2, 25 : *eṅ-ādy-acaḥ prāg-deśāt*). We are evidently surprised, and even shocked, to see Gonarda, which is in the heart of Mālava, here placed in 'the East' of India. We have not, however, the right to call the assertion of Candragomin and the *Kāśikā* in question. It is not the question of following a blind confidence in the geographical knowledge of these commentaries; but the reasoning, from the grammatical order, is unquestionable. *Gonardīya* is a derivative formed by means of the suffix *cha* ($=$*īya*). The suffix *cha* joins a stem having *vṛddhi.*[3] *Gonardīya* is treated as a stem of *vṛddhi*, though it has *o*, and not *au*, in the first syllable. The thing then is that it enters into the exception anticipated by Pāṇini.[4] So Gonarda, from which it derived, is a name a of locality of the Orientals.

But what should we mean by 'the Orientals', *prāñcaḥ* ? The grammar, since Pāṇini, knows only two groupings as regards the cardinal points, *viz.*, the Northerners (*udañcaḥ*) and the Easterners (*prāñcaḥ*). A traditional verse quoted by the *Kāśikā*[5]

1. On Pāṇini, III, 1, 26.
2. On Candragomin, III, 2, 25, etc.
3. *Vṛddhāc=chaḥ* (Pāṇini, IV 2, 114).
4. I, 1,75.
5. On Pāṇini, I, 1, 75.

and Kṣīrasvāmin[1] establishes that division :

प्रागुदंचौ विभजते हंस: क्षीरोदके यथा ।
विदुषां शब्दसिद्धयर्थं सा न: पातु शरावती ॥

"She separates the East and the North, as the swan separates the milk and the water, for fixing well the usage of the classical language. May the Śarāvatī protect us !"

And the Dictionary of Amara, in describing the earth, stands also on that double division which it completes by the secondary association of the two other directions :

. . . . शरावत्यास्तु योऽवधे: ।
देश: प्राग्दक्षिण: प्राच्य उदीच्य: पश्चिमोत्तर: ॥[2]

'In starting from the Śarāvatī, the country, which is to the south-east, is the East; that, which is to the north-west, is the North.'

Thus, to Amara, the South is expressly connected with the East, and the North with the West. The glossologist Vandya-ghaṭīya [Sarvānanda] writes on the passage that 'the Śarāvatī is a river of India that runs from the north-east towards the Western Ocean.' (एतस्मिश्च भारते वर्षे शरावती नाम नदी ऐशान्या दिश: सकाशात् पश्चिमसमुद्रगामिनी वहति). The indication seems plain and clear. Unfortunately real geography does not confirm it. Vandyaghaṭīya, a veritable glossologist, has deduced from the text itself the indication which he appears to have added here. He has borrowed it neither from the modern geography, nor from the ancient, nor from the consecrated nomenclatures of the rivers in the epics and the Purāṇas. The pretended Śarāvatī of Vandyaghaṭīya will be searched in vain. In fact, the tradition has perpetuated, this time also, an appellation that had no more any relation, for a long time, with reality.

There had been a time, when the name Śarāvatī, '[the river] with reeds,' was applied to a course of water, which separated the whole of Aryan India into two parts. Pāṇini expressly teaches the formation of the name.[3] The memory of a frontier indicated by the river Śarāvatī is curiously preserv-

1. On Amara, II, 1, 6-7.
2. II, 1, 6-7.
3. *Śar-ādīnāṁ ca* (VI; 3, 120).

d in a celebrated episode of the Buddhist tradition. When Koṭikarṇa goes to consult the Buddha on the limits of the country of strict observance, the Lord fixes the southern limit at Śarāvatī: "In the South there is a city named Śarāvatī, and beyond that is a river named Śarāvatī. There is the boundary (दक्षिणेन शरावती नाम नगरी, तस्याः परेण शरावती नाम नदी, सोऽन्तः)." Such is at least the tradition of the Mūlasarvāstivādin school in the original text gathered by the compilers of the *Divyāvadāna*.[1] The editors of the text, Cowell and Neil, cite two variants of the name, furnished by some manuscripts of inferior value : *Sarvāvatī* (Ms. A) and *Savārāvatī* (Ms. B). It is this last reading which has been followed by Yi-tsing, the author (responsible, if not actual) of the Mūlasarvāstivādin *Vinaya*. He has rendered the name of the city and the river as *Che-pa* (or *fo*)*-lo-fa-ti* which supposes an original *Śavaravatī*.[2] Yi-tsing reproduces the same form of the name in another treatise of the same *Vinaya*, viz. the *Mūlasarvāstivāda Ekaśatakarma*,[3] wherein the same episode is repeated in an abridged from. The reading *Śavaravatī* is undoubtedly due to an attempt at correction to substitute for the unknown Śarāvatī a name which evoked the idea of the savage tribes of the Śavaras who inhabited the central plateau on the southern border of the basin of the Ganges. The corresponding passage of the *Vinaya* of the Sarvāstivādins is known to us only from the Chinese version due to Puṇyatara, which appears, owing to the fault of the translator or of the original, in a state of inextricable confusion. After having given Mount Uśīra (Yeou-chi-lo) as the northern limit, it adds : 'beyond that mountain, and not far off, there is the tree So-lo by the source with rushes'.[4] The 'source with rushes' seems to be the equivalent of Śarāvatī, '[the water] which has some reeds,' and the tree So-lo=Sārā or Sālā seems to go back to the same original. Through and through, this Vinaya gives 'the river of the Bamboos', as the limit in the North-East which too evokes the Śarāvatī. Such as it is, the passage

1. Ed. Cowell and Neil, p. 21.
2. Tok., XVII, 4, 108-a, 9.
3. Tok., XVII, 5, 57-b, 2.
4. Tok., XVI, 4, 59-a, 17.

is not then utilisable. The Pali *Vinaya* of the Sthavira school substitutes *Salalavatī* (with the variants *Sallavatī* and *Salilavatī*, though the evidence of *Jātaka*, I, 49, and the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, I, 173, confirms the reading *Salala°*) for *Śarāvatī*. It makes that river the boundary in the south-east : *puratthima-dakkhiṇāya disāya Salalavatī nāma nadī*.[1] The direction of the south-east in the Pali work partly agrees with the direction of the south in the *Vinaya* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins. It is in absolute contradiction of the Brāhmaṇical conception of the Śarāvatī which, separating the North and the East, must flow to the north-west of the country of the Middle, *i.e.* Madhya-deśa, which is the land of strict observance.

The city of Śarāvatī (Śarāvatī-nagarī), which the *Vinaya* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins place just on this side of the river Śarāvatī, is no better known than the river itself. A city of the same name, it is true, appears in the *Raghuvaṁśa*, XV, 97, as the capital of Lava, son of Rāma, while the latter's other son reigned at Kuśāvatī :

स निवेश्य कुशावत्यां रिपुनागांकुशं कुशम् ।
शरावत्यां सतां सूक्तैर्जनिताश्रुलवं लवम् ॥

This is at least the text adopted by Mallinātha and generally accepted on the authority of that commentator. But the commentators Vallabha, Vijayānanda-sūri and Caritravardhana read : *Śrāvastyāṁ ca*, and Hemādri and Sumativijaya have: *Śrāvatyāṁ ca*. And in fact, the Uttarakāṇḍa of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, which Kālidāsa follows, calls the capital of Lava *Śrāvastī* in the text of Bombay CVIII, 5, as in the text of Calcutta, CXXI, 4 (श्रावस्तीति पुरी रम्या श्राविता च लवस्य च)[2]. Actually, according to all the texts of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Lava reigned over Uttara-Kośala while Kuśa ruled over Kośala proper (कोशलेषु कुशं वीरमुत्तरेषु तथा लवम्). Śrāvastī was the capital of Uttara-Kośala.[3] The city and the

1. *Vinayapiṭaka, Mahāvagga*, V, 13, 12.
2. Gorresio's edition, CXIII, 24 has *Śrāvati* :
लवस्य तु पुरीं रम्यां श्रावतिं लोकविश्रुताम्.
3. [The *Raghuvaṁśa* (XVI, 31 ff.) suggests that Kuśāvatī lay in a territory to the south of the Vindhyas, apparently in the present Raipur-Bilaspur-Sambalpur region which was called Kosala at least before the middle of the fourth century when the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta was composed. This country was regarded as Kosala proper while the Ayodhyā region was known as Uttara-Kosala. Cf. Dey, *Geog. Dict.*, s. v.]

river of Śarāvatī on the confines of the North and the East have nothing to do here.

A precise location of the site of Gonarda with reference to Śarāvatī, which is not to be found, must then be given up. But one fact subsists. In the traditional division of Āryāvarta into two regions, viz. North and East, Gonarda, treated grammatically as a locality of the 'Orientals', is not in the North, however may have come its secondary orientation. It is then not to be surprised if Varāhamihira, the only known author who mentions Gonarda after the texts already cited,[1] places Gonarda among the countries of the south in his astrological chart of India (*Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, XIV, 12: अथ दक्षिणेन लंका . . . भरुकच्छा . . . . वनवासि . . . कोंकणामीराः आ करवेणाव (sic. न)र्त्तक दशपुरगोनर्दकेरलकाः कर्णाट ...नासिक्य . . . तुम्बवनकार्मणेयकाः). The name of Gonarda appears twice more in the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, in the texts of two purely astrological groupings: IX, 13 : अन्येनात्राक्रान्ते म्लेच्छाटविकाश्वजोविगोमन्तान् ।
गोनर्दनीचशूद्रान् वैदेहांश्चानयः स्पृशति ॥
And XXXII, 22 : गोनर्दचेदिकुकुरान् किरातवैदेहकान् हन्ति ॥
In his geographical nomenclature, Varāhamihira seems to throw the names at the hazard of the metre, so that nothing about their relative position can be inferred from a stand on the order of classification. Among these names of the southern regions, there is one, however, which deserves detaining attention. This is the name of Tumbavana. But the locality is, as far as I know, completely unknown in literatures. Nevertheless, in the *Paramatthajotikā*, his commentary on the *Suttanipāta*, Buddhaghoṣa remarks on some verses of the *Pārāyaṇa*, wherein Gonarda is mentioned : *Ujjeniñ=c=āpi Gonaddhaṁ Vedisaṁ Vana-savhayaṁ*, that 'Vana-savhaya (literally, 'which bears the name of a forest') designates Tumbavana-nagara, others maintaining that this is Vanasāvatthi' (*Vana-savhayan=ti Tumbavana-*(*na**)*garaṁ vuccati, Vanasāvatthin=tipi eke*). The gloss is quoted by Andersen-Smith's

1. [The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* mentions Gonarda along with the countries of the southern and western parts of India. See chapter LVIII, verses 20-29, though the stanzas appear to be an adaptation from those of the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*. But the Purāṇas generally mention Gonarda along with the eastern countries (cf. above, p.29, note 2).]

edition of the *Suttanipāta*.[1] Thus, according to the statement of Buddhaghoṣa, Tumbavana would be the step between Vidiśā and Kauśāmbī, on the route from Gonaddha-Gonarda towards the Yamunā.[2] In fact, in the *Stūpa* of Sanchi near the site of Vidiśā (lat. 23° 28′ N. ; long. 77° 48′ E.), five inscriptions[3] commemorate the donations made by some inhabitants of Tumbavana. Among the benefactors of the *Stūpa*, are represented the inhabitants of Māhiṣmatī, Ujjayinī and Vidiśā. It is astonishing not to meet some people of Gonarda.

The authenticity of the geographical nomenclature in the introduction of the *Pārāyaṇa* is confirmed by a decisive trait. Bāvari is here represented as settled on the bank of the Godāvarī, in the region of Aḷaka :

So Assakassa visaye Aḷakassa samāsane |
vasī Godhāvarī-kule uñchena ca phalena ca || (verse 2)

When his disciples leave him, their first step towards the North is the city of 'Patiṭṭāna of Aḷaka' (*Aḷakassa Patiṭṭhānaṁ*, v. 36). Such is at least the text adopted by the editors, Fausboell and Andersen-Smith. But the material furnished by the latter shows that, in the two passages, the Burmese manuscripts have *Muḷaka* instead of *Aḷaka*. The inscription of Śrī-Puḷumāyi at Nasik, enumerating the provinces annexed by Gautamīputra to his empire, names the country of Muḷaka which it puts together with the country of Asaka (Assaka) exactly as the *Pārāyaṇa* does : *Asika-Asaka-Muḷaka-Suraṭha-Kukur-Āparaṁta-Anūpa-Vidabha-Ākar-Āvati*. The latest editor of the inscription, M. Senart, wrote about the name Muḷaka : "The Muḷakas remain shrouded in obscurity. Bhagwanlal adduced the dynasty of the Muṇḍakas, known from the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* ; and the way in which they are here mentioned together with the Śakas and Tukhāras is such as to commend the hint. But I am doubtful about the change of *ḷ* into *ṇḍ*."[4] Thanks to the text of the *Pārāyaṇa* the mystery is

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 194.
2. [Tumbavana is modern Tumain in the Guna District of the former Gwalior State. See the Tumain inscription of the Gupta year 116, which mentions Tumbavana, in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 115ff.]
3. Lüders' List, Nos. 201, 202, 449, 450, 520.
4. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 62.

solved. The site of Muḷaka may also be determined with enough precision, since it is between Asaka (Assaka, Aśmaka) where exists the city of Pratiṣṭhāna (Patiṭhāna), now-a-days Paiṭhan on the upper Godāvarī, near its source, and Suraṭha (Surāṣṭra) which is the modern peninsula of Kathiawar. Muḷaka should then indicate the portion of the coast with the rear-country lying to the north of Bombay, i. e. Gujarāt.[1]

I shall perhaps be accused of attaching an excessive importance to the order of succession in which the names of provinces are enumerated in the inscription of Puḷumāyi. But the inscription of Rudradāman at Girnar, which goes up to the same epoch, also contains a list of provinces subdued by Rudradāman, the adversary of the Sātakarṇi dynasty, to which Gautamīputra and Puḷumāyi belonged. His domain is partly formed of the territories conquered from the Śātakarṇis. The following are found in this list : Ākar-Āvanti, Anūpa, Surāṣṭra, Kukur-Āparānta, etc. (पूर्वापराकरावन्त्यनूपनिवृदानर्त्तसुराष्ट्रश्वभ्रमरुकच्छसिन्धुसौवीरकुकुरापरान्त-निषधादीनाम्). But here the order of succession is the reverse, since Rudradāman extended his conquests from the north to the south, starting from the region of Ujjayanī, his capital, whereas Gautamīputra, starting from the banks of the Godāvarī, marched conquering from the south to the north.

The memory of the country of Muḷaka is perhaps not entirely effaced from the Purāṇic tradition. In the genealogy of the race of Ikṣvāku, the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (IV, 4) assigns a son named Aśmaka to Kalmāṣapāda. Aśmaka's son and successor was Muḷaka, surnamed Nārīkavaca, because some women hid and saved him at the time of the general massacre of the Kṣatriyas. Aśmaka is clearly an eponymous hero, the eponym of the country of Aśmaka, the 'Stony' territory (*aśman*='stone'), situated to the south of Avanti and closely connected with it. Cf. *Avanty-Aśmakāḥ* in the *Gaṇapāṭha* under the *Kārta-Kaujap-ādayaḥ* Gaṇa and *Aśmak-Āvanti* in the Sarvāstivādin *Vinaya* episode of Koṭikarṇa. The Mūlasarvastivādin *Vinaya* has *Aśm-Āparāntaka* which Cowell and Neil wrongly

1. [Muḷaka was situated close to Aśmaka and the Godāvarī and the city of Pratiṣṭhāna lay in it. Paiṭhan lies in the Aurangabad District of the former Hyderabad State. Muḷaka was therefore the area around that District which was sometimes included in Aśmaka. See above, pp. 154-55.]

read: *asmāt parāntaka.*[1] The relation between Aśmaka and Muḷaka so clearly expressed in the *Pārāyaṇa* (*so Assakassa visaye Muḷakassa sāmāsane*, v. 2) suggests that the filiation indicated in the Purāṇa between king Aśmaka and king Muḷaka interprets a geographical relation by the genealogy.

It will be less astonishing to meet in a section of the *Sutta-nipāta* with some details, so precise, of the geography of the regions that encircle the Gulf of Cambay, if it is remembered that one of the pearls of the Collection, viz. the admirable *Dhaniyasutta*,[2] has the bank of the Mahī for its scene. The shepherd Dhaniya is settled here (*anutīre Mahiyā samāna-vāso*).The Buddha passes a night on the bank of the river (*anutīre Mahiy=eka-ratti-vāso*). The audacity of a poet and a local inspiration must have been necessary for bringing the Buddha in these exotic quarters so far from his real activity, in close contact of the sea frequented by the barbarians.[3]

1. *Divyāvadāna*, 1.
2. *Uragavagga*, 2.
3. [See above, p. 215, note 1. For the situation of the Aśmaka country, see above, pp. 154-55. Only some of the provinces of the kingdoms of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and Rudradāman can be regarded as new annexations.]

XVII

KOKĀMUKHA

Some years ago, no less than five copper-plate charters of the time of three emperors of the Gupta dynasty were discovered at a place called Dāmodarpur near the Phulbari Police Station in the Balurghat Sub-Division of the Dinajpur District, North Bengal. One of these records refers to the Gupta emperor Budhagupta (477-95 A.D.), the *uparika Mahārāja* Jayadatta, viceroy of the Purṇḍravardhana *bhukti*, and the *āyuktaka* Gaṇḍaka (or Śaṇḍaka) who was in charge of the Koṭivarṣa *viṣaya*. Gaṇḍaka is said to have been helped in the administration of the Koṭivarṣa district by the *nagaraśeṣṭhin* Ṛbhupāla, *sārthavāha* Vasumitra, *prathama-kulika* Varadatta and *prathama-kāyastha* Viprapāla. The *śreṣṭhin* Ṛbhupāla one day approached the *adhiṣṭhān-ādhikaraṇa*, i.e. the office of administration at the headquarters of the district, with the following petition: हिमवच्छिखरे कोकामुखस्वामिनः चत्वारः कुल्यवापाः श्वेतवराहस्वामिनोपि सप्त कुल्यवापाः अस्मत्फलाशंसिना पुण्याभिवृद्धये डोङ्गाग्रामे पूर्वं मया अप्रदा अतिसृष्टकाः। तदहं तत्क्षेत्रसामीप्यभूमौ तयोराद्यकोकामुखस्वामिश्वेतवराहस्वामिनोर्नामलिङ्गमेनं देवकुलद्वयमेतत् कोष्ठिकाद्वयञ्च कारयितुमिच्छामि। अर्हथ वास्तुना सह कुल्यवापान् यथाक्रयमर्यादया दातुमिति। After having examined Ṛbhupāla's application, the *pustapālas* Viṣṇudatta, Vijayanandin and Sthāṇunandin reported that some *Kulyavāpas* of land at the rate of three *Dīnāras* per *Kulyavāpa* might be sold to the *śreṣṭhin*, because: अनेन हिमवच्छिखरे तयोः कोकामुखस्वामिश्वेतवराहस्वामिनोः अप्रदाः क्षेत्रकुल्यवापा एकादश दत्तकाः। तदर्थञ्च इह देवकुलकोष्ठिकाकरणे युक्तमेतद् विज्ञापितं तत्क्षेत्रसामीप्यभूमौ वास्तु दातुमिति। It should be pointed out that we have quoted above the epigraphic texts with the elimination of minor grammatical errors.[1]

1. For the actual text of the passages and their interpretation, see *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 328-30. For *Kulyāvāpa*, see *ibid.*, p. 501. For the other Dāmodarpur inscriptions cited below, see *ibid.*, pp. 283 ff., 324 ff., 337 ff. The board of administrators headed by the *Nagaraśreṣṭhin*, referred to in these records was similar to the Pañcāyat board of the Cauthiās headed by the *Nagar-seṭh* as prevalent in Rājasthān. See Tod, *An. Ant. Raj.*, ed. Crooke, Vol. I, pp. 171, 231; Vol. II, p. 682. Cf. *Journ. Un. Gauhati*, Vol. VI, pp. 81 ff.

The expression *Himavac-chikhara* in the passages quoted above literally means 'a peak of the Himalayas'. But the village called Ḍoṅgā-grāma, where the donated lands were situated and where further lands were applied for, does not appear to have been far from Dāmodarpur, the findspot of the charter in question. The village is also mentioned in another Dāmodarpur record that was issued in the Gupta year 124 during the reign of Kumāragupta I. A second Dāmodarpur grant of the time of Budhagupta, dated in the year 163, mentions Vāyi-grāmaka which is no other than the modern Bāigrām in the Bogra District, not far away from the findspot of the record. The Dāmodarpur inscription of the Gupta year 224 refers to the purchase of five *Kulyavāpas* of land by the *Kulaputra* Amṛtadeva hailing from Ayodhyā for the following purpose : अत्रारण्ये भगवतः श्वेतवराहस्वामिनो देवकुले खण्डस्फुटितप्रतिसंस्कारकरणाय वलिचरुसत्रप्रवर्त्तनगन्धधूपपुष्पप्रापणमधुपर्क-दीपाद्युपयोगाय च अप्रदाधर्म्मेण ताम्रपट्टीकृत्य क्षेत्रस्तोकं दातुमिति । In connection with the grant of land to the god Śvetavarāhasvāmin in this case, mention has been made of Svacchanda-pāṭaka, Lavaṅgasikā, Sāṭuvan-āśramaka, Paraspatikā, the Jambū-nadī and Pūraṇavṛndikahari. Of these, Pūraṇavṛndikahari has been identified by some scholars with modern Brindakoori, 14 miles to the north of Dāmodarpur. It is therefore almost certain that the lands granted by Ṛbhupāla to the gods Kokāmukhasvāmin and Śvetavarāhasvāmin lay in the Dāmodarpur region in the southern part of the Dinajpur District. But the temples of the two gods in question were situated in the Himalayan region far away from Dāmodarpur. It has therefore been suggested by some scholars that the mountainous region about the northern fringe of the modern territory of Bengal formed parts of the Koṭivarṣa *viṣaya* (Dinajpur area) or the Puṇḍravardhana *bhukti* (North Bengal).[1] This hypothesis is apparently due to the fact that nobody has so far been able to determine the exact location of the temples of Kokāmukha and Śvetavarāha in the Himalayas.

A *tīrtha* called Kokāmukha or Varāha-kṣetra is known from he *Mahābhārata*[2] and the *Purāṇas*. Chapters 219 and 229 of the

1. *History of Bengal*, Dacca University, Vol. I, pp. 24, 400 and note 3.
2. See III, 48, 158 ; XIII, 25, 52.

Brahma Purāṇa locate the holy place of pilgrimage in the Himalayas. The *Brahma Purāṇa* not only refers to the Kokāmukha *tīrtha* in the Himalayas but also to the Varāha form of Viṣṇu installed there and to the river called Kokā which runs through the place. Cf.

कोकेति प्रथिता लोके शिशराद्रिसमाश्रिता ॥ (११९।१७)

कोकानदीति विख्याता गिरिराजसमाश्रिता ।

तीर्थकोटिमहापुण्या मद्रूपपरिपालिता ॥ (११९।१०६)

वराहदंष्ट्रासंलग्नाः पितरः कनकोज्वला ।

कोकामुखे गतभयाः कृता देवेन विष्णुना ॥ (११९।३९)

एवं मयोक्तं वरदस्य विष्णोः कोकामुखे दिव्यवराहरूपम् (११९।११६), etc.

But the *Brahma Purāṇa* does not help us at all in determining the exact location of the temple of Varāha at Kokāmukha in the Himalayas. For this, we have to examine other Puranic texts. In this connection, attention of scholars may be drawn to the *Varāha Purāṇa*.

Chapter 140 of the *Varāha Purāṇa* is styled *Kokāmukha-māhātmya-varṇana*. Here Varāha (Viṣṇu in the Boar form) declares to the goddess Earth :

तव कोकामुखं नाम यन्मया पूर्वभाषितम् ।

बदरीति च विख्यातं गिरिराजशिलातलम् ॥

स्थानं लोहार्गलं नाम म्लेच्छराजसमाश्रितम् ।

क्षणञ्चापि न मुञ्चामि एवमेतन्न संशयः ॥ (१४०।४-५)

According to this passage, only three places on the earth are the abodes of Viṣṇu and they are : (1) Kokāmukha, (2) Badarī or Badarikāśrama, and (3) Lohārgala, all in the Himalayas. Chapter 141 of the *Purāṇa*, styled *Badarikāśrama-māhātmya-varṇana*, refers to a number of holy spots in the region of the *tīrtha* now known as Badarīnārāyaṇa. They are Brahma-kuṇḍa, Agnisatya-pada, Indraloka, Pañcaśikha, Catuḥ-srotaḥ, Vedadhāra, Dvādaśāditya-kuṇḍa, Lokapāla, Sthala-kuṇḍa amongst hills, Meruvara, Mānasodbheda, Pañca-saraḥ, Somābhiṣeka, Soma-giri, Urvaśī-kuṇḍa, etc. Chapter 151 of the *Varāha Purāṇa*, styled the *Lohārgala-māhātmya-varṇana*, refers to the holy spots belonging to

the Lohārgala *tīrtha* in the land of the Mlecchas in the Himalayas.[1]

The holy spots in Lohārgala are Pañca-saraḥ, Nārada-kuṇḍa, Vasiṣṭha-kuṇḍa (where five streams are falling from the Hima-kūṭa), Saptarṣi-kuṇḍa (where seven streams fall from the Himavat-parvata), Śarabhaṅga-kuṇḍa(तत्र धारा पतत्येका शरभङ्गाश्रिता नदी), Agnisaraḥ-kuṇḍa, Bṛhaspati-kuṇḍa (where falls a stream which is *Himakūṭa-samāśritā*), Vaiśvānara-kuṇḍa (धारा चैका पतत्यत्र दृश्यते हिमसङ्क्षयात्), Kārttikeya-kuṇḍa (where fifteen streams fall from the Hima-parvata), Umā-kuṇḍa, Maheśvara-kuṇḍa (where three streams fall from the Himavat-parvata), Brahma-kuṇḍa (where four streams fall from the Himālaya), etc.

The holy spots belonging to the Kokāmukha *tīrtha* mentioned in the *Varāha Purāṇa*, Chapter 140, are the following : 1. Jalabindu ; 2. Viṣṇu-dhārā ; 3. Viṣṇu-pada which is *Kokāmukh-āśrita*; 4. Viṣṇu-saraḥ; 5. Soma-tīrtha—यत्र पञ्चशिला भूमिर्विष्णुनाम्ना तथाङ्किता; 6. Tuṅgakūṭa ; 7. Agni-saraḥ—पञ्च धाराः पतन्त्यत्र गिरिकुञ्जसमाश्रिताः; 8. Brahma-saraḥ; 9. Dhenuvaṭa; 10. Dharmodbhava —गिरिकुञ्जात् पतत्येका धारा भूमितले शुभा ; 11. Koṭivaṭa; 12. Pāpapramocana ; 13. Yamavyasanaka ; 14. Mātaṅga—स्रोतो वहति तत्रैवमाश्रितं कौशिकीं नदीम् ; 15. Vajrabhava—स्रोतो वहति तत्रैकमाश्रितं कौशिकीं नदीम् ; 16. Śakrarudra which is *Kokā-śilātala-sthita;* 17. Daṁṣṭrāṅkura—यत्र कोका विनिःसृता; 18. Viṣṇu-tīrtha—ततः पर्वतमध्यात्तु कोकायां पतति जलम् ; 19. Sarvakāmikā—अस्ति तत्र वरं स्थानं संगमं कौशि(की*)कोकयोः। सर्वकामिकेति विख्याता शिला तिष्ठति चोत्तरे ॥ 20. Matsya-śilā—अस्ति मत्स्यशिला नाम गुह्यं कोकामुखे वरम् । धाराः पतन्ति तिस्रो वै कौशिकीमाश्रिता नदीम् । Besides the above particulars, we have some general observations on the Kokāmukha *tīrtha*, such

1. Cf. ततः सिद्धवटे गत्वा त्रिंशद्योजनदूरतः ।
म्लेच्छमध्ये वरारोहे हिमवन्तं समाश्रितम् ॥
तत्र लोहार्गले क्षेत्रे निवासो विहितः शुभः ।
गुह्यं पञ्चदशायामं समन्तात् पञ्चयोजनम् ॥...
तत्र तिष्ठाम्यहं भद्रे उदीचीं दिशमाश्रितः ।
हिरण्यप्रतिमां कृत्वा जातरूपां न संशयः ॥१५१।७-१०

Lohārgala is generally identified with Lohāghāṭ in Kumāon (Kūrmācala). Cf. Dey, *Geog. Dict.*, s.v.

as—पञ्चयोजनविस्तारं क्षेत्रं कोकामुखं मम, तस्मिन् कोकामुखे रम्ये तिष्ठामि दक्षिणामुखः, वराहरूपमादाय तिष्ठामि पुरुषाकृतिः, वामोन्नतमुखं कृत्वा वामदंष्ट्रा-समुन्नतम्, etc. It is quite clear from the description of the Kokāmukha *tīrtha* in the *Varāha Purāṇa* that two rivers named Kokā and Kauśikī as well as their confluence were intimately associated with the holy region.

There are several rivers of the name Kauśikī in different parts of India. But the only Kauśikī that can be associated with a *Kṣetra* of Varāha as well as with a river called Kokā is the Kauśikī, modern Kośī, running from Nepal by the western borders of the Purnea District of Bihar. The river is known in Nepal as the Sun-Kośī (probably Svarṇa-Kauśikī) and some of its tributaries have names like Arun-Kośī, Dudh-Kośī, etc. The ancient Kokāmukha *tīrtha* or Varāha-kṣetra is situated on the bank of the Sun-Kośī in Nepal and is now popularly known as Barāh-chatra. *Chatra* is the common corrupt form derived from Sanskrit *kṣetra*.

It is unfortunate that in most maps of Nepal no locality called Varāha-kṣetra or Barāh-chatra is indicated. Of course Dhankuta a little to the north and Bijapur to the east of the holy region are found even in ordinary maps. E. Thornton's *Gazetteer of India* (London, 1886, s.v.) spells the name wrongly as *Vardhachatra* instead of *Varahachatra* (with *d* wrongly printed for *a*) and says, "Town in Nepal State; situated on the left bank of the San-Kusi river, 124 miles east-south-east of Khatmandu. Lat. 26° 57′, long. 87° 4′." The *Gupta Press Directory Pañjikā* (in Bengali) observes, "Varāhachatra.—The image of Varāhadeva, the third incarnation of Lord Viṣṇu, is placed on the Dhavalāgiri near the kingdom of Bhuṭān forming part of the kingdom of Nepāl. A fair is held at the place every year during the full-moon day of the month of Kārttika. From Calcutta to Jogbani (Kāṭihār-Jogbani branch, B. & A. Ry.), the distance is 331 miles (*via* Rāṇāghāṭ and Lālgolāghāṭ). The foot of the Dhavalāgiri peak is 20 miles from that place by a road along the Kuśī river; the temple of Varāhadeva lies 20 miles above." Although Bhutan and the celebrated Dhavalāgiri in Nepal are far away from the

Varāha-kṣetra or Barāh-chatra, the location of the holy place indicated above is fairly correct. The Barāh-chatra and the Kokā river have been placed in the same region in an old book entitled *An Account of the Kingdom of Nepal* (being the substance of observations made during a Mission to that country in the year 1793) by Colonel Kirkpatrick, London, 1811. They are also indicated in the map inserted in the book. While describing the route from Khatmandu to Bijapur, the author says (pp. 324-25) : From Ohdhang ghaut 'To the conflux of the Arun and Soan-Kousi—7 [ghurries]; To Ukhurria ghaut (the 2nd) —5 [ghurries]; To the Thumboor, *i. e.* the confluence of the Tumboor and Soan-Kousi at Tambraphede—26 [ghurries]; To Koka-Kola (which falls into the Soan-Kousi according to the map)—28 [ghurries]; To Barah-chatra—28 [ghurries]; To Chattraghaut (on the Kousi)—5 [ghurries]; To Bejapour—16 [ghurries]." The distance between the localities has been indicated by time, a ghurry being equal to 22½ minutes. But the estimates are only approximate as the time required in travelling in a hilly region can hardly be uniform. The word *kolā* (probably from Sanskrit *kulyā*) means a stream and Kokākolā means the small river called Kokā. Thus we have here not only a Varāha-kṣetra but also the junction of the rivers Kauśikī (Sun-Kuśī) and the Kokā (Kokā-kolā). There is therefore no doubt that the Barāh-chatra in Nepal has to be identified with the Kokāmukha *tīrtha* mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* and that the temples of the gods Kokāmukha and Śvetavarāha, associated in the Dāmodarpur inscription with *Himavac-chikhara*, were situated at this place.

The distance of the ancient Kokāmukha *tīrtha* or Barāh-chatra in Nepal from the Dāmodarpur region in the southern part of the Dinajpur District is about 150 miles by air. The inclusion of the above part of Nepal within the Koṭivarṣa *viṣaya* or the Puṇḍravardhana *bhukti* in the Gupta period seems to be quite out of question at the present state of our knowledge.

People of North Bihar have great regard for the Varāha-kṣetra even to-day. There is again no doubt that the culture of North Bengal was intimately associated with that of

North Bihar before the former territory was flooded by Mongolian migrations. It was therefore quite natural for the people of the Dinajpur region to visit the Kokāmukha *tīrtha* even in the Gupta age. The *śreṣṭhin* Ṛbhupāla apparently went to the Varāhakṣetra-Kokāmukha on pilgrimage and after having returned home dedicated a large area of land in his native district in honour of the two gods enshrined at the holy place. But it was not quite easy for him to send the income accruing regularly to distant Nepal. The pious Ṛbhupāla therefore made two temples of the same gods, near the lands originally granted, together with two storehouses.[1] He appears to have installed in these temples two imitation-gods of the same names. That is why the gods in the *Himavac-chikhara* have been styled *ādya*, *i.e.* 'original'. This is further suggested by the distinction of the places indicated by the two expressions *Himavac-chikhare* and *iha* occurring in the second passage quoted above from Ṛbhupāla's record. About half a century after Ṛbhupāla, Amṛtadeva granted lands in favour of the temple of Śvetavarāha. This is no doubt one of the temples founded by Ṛbhupāla in the Dāmodarpur region and not that of the original god in the Himalayas. We have to take note of the fact that the expression *Himavac-chikhara* is conspicuous by its absence in the record of Amṛtadeva. Instead of any reference to the Himalayas, we find here the temple located in *atr=āraṇye*, *i.e.*, 'here in this forest,' which no doubt formed a part of the Koṭivarṣa *viṣaya*.

[1] Cf. तत्क्षेत्रसामीप्यभूमौ तयोराद्यकोकामुखस्वामिश्वेतवराहस्वामिनो-र्नामलिंगमेनं देवकुलद्वयमेतत्कोष्ठिकाद्वयं च, 'these two temples marked by the names of the said original gods, Kokāmukhasvāmin and Svetavarāha-svāmin, as well as these two store-houses in the vicinity of that [land granted originally at Ḍoṅgā-grāma in Koṭivarṣa-viṣaya].

XVIII

GAYĀ

The antiquity of the Gayā-tīrtha has been the subject of a controversy for a long time.[1] Recently a paper entitled 'Bihar in the Agni-Purāṇa' has been published in the *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Vol.XL, Part i, 1954, pp. 1-7, where the problem has been discussed without reference to the views of earlier writers. In the concluding part of the said paper, the author draws our attention to the well-known stanza :

अयोध्या मथुरा माया काशी कांची अवंतिका ।
पुरी द्वारावती चैव सप्तैता मोक्षदायिका: ॥

and observes,"This couplet was composed probably in the eighth century A.D., and, from the absence of any mention of Gayā, it appears that any importance it may have had then was only local and that it did not acquire a pan-Indian celebrity before this time. This is strengthened by the fact that while in (of?) the Gupta period there is only one inscription found at Gayā, in (of?) the Pāla period(c. 750—c. 1200)no less than six inscriptions are found here. These things evidently point to the growing importance of Gayā in the period subsequent to 750 A.D., *i.e.*, in the period of the Agni-Purāṇa." We are sorry that we cannot agree with the author's contentions.

In the first place, it is not possible to assign the text of a Purāṇa as a whole, in all cases, to a definite date because it usually contains matter interpolated by various redactors in different ages. Moreover,the incorporation of a tradition in a work at a particular date does not prove that it was non-existent in an earlier age. It is therefore impossible to determine the antiquity of Gayā from its mention in the *Agni Purāṇa* alone.

1. Cf. R. L. Mitra's *Buddha-Gayā*, 1878; Cunningham's *Mahābodhi*, 1892; O'Malley's *Gazetteer of the Gaya District* (also his article in *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. LXXII, 1903, No. 3, pp. 1-11) ; B. M. Barua's *Gayā and Buddha-Gayā*, Vols. I-II, 1934; J.C. Ghosh's article in *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XXIV, 1938, pp. 89-111; P. V. Kane's *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. IV, 1953, pp. 642-79.

Secondly, the date of the composition of the stanza, *Ayodhyā*, etc., quoted above, is uncertain. But a theory based on the absence of Gayā in it seems to be merely a case of *argumentum ex silentio*. It is certainly impossible to believe that Prabhāsa, Puṣkara and Prayāga, which are not mentioned in the verse, attained all-India importance after the seventh century. The pilgrimage of a ruler of the North Marāṭhā country to Prabhāsa and Puṣkara is mentioned in an inscription of the second century A.D.[1], while Prayāga is not only referred to in a *Khila* verse placed in the *Ṛgveda*, X, 75, but is also mentioned in an inscription[2] as a holy place where a sixth century king of East Malwa committed religious suicide according to the injunction of the Dharmaśāstra writers. There is absolutely no doubt that these three *tīrthas*, not represented in the stanza relied on by our author, became widely known many hundred years before the eighth century when the said verse is supposed to have been composed. The verse is found with some modifications once in the *Brahmāṇḍa* (IV, 40, 91) and *Garuḍa* (Preta-khaṇḍa, 38, 5-6) *Purāṇas* and twice in the Kāśī-khaṇḍa (6, 68 and 23, 7) section of the *Skanda Purāṇa*.[3] There is hardly any doubt that the date of its composition is later than that of a traditional stanza regarding the sanctity of Gayā, which is found in the epics as well as in most of the Purāṇas and Dharmaśāstra works. But this is not the only evidence to show that Gayā was already one of the most famous Indian *tīrthas* long before the rise of the Pālas about the middle of the eighth century.

The *Mahābhārata* is believed to have assumed its present form between the fourth century B.C. and the fourth century A.D.,[4] while the *Rāmāyaṇa* is supposed to have had its present extent and contents as early as the second century A.D.[5] The Tīrtha-yātrā section of the Vana-parvan of the *Mahābhārata* contains two

1. *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 160 ff.
2. *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 200.
3. See N. L. Dey, *Geographical Dictionary*, p. 179 ; Kane, *op. cit.*, p. 678, note 1935.
4. Cf. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 258 ; Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I, p. 465.
5. Winternitz, *op. cit.*, p. 516.

subsections on Gayā,[1] which point to the place as a great *tirtha*. But what is more important is that both these subsections have one stanza in common, which is introduced in one case by the passage *kīrtayanti purātanāḥ*[2] showing that it was an old *gāthā* handed down by tradition. The stanza runs as follows :

एष्टव्या बहव: पुत्रा यद्यप्येको गयां व्रजेत् ।
यजेत वाश्वमेधेन नीलं वा वृषमुत्सृजेत् ॥

That it was an old traditional *gāthā* is also clearly demonstrated by the fact that the same verse is quoted, sometimes with slight modifications (not affecting the reference to Gayā), again in the Anuśāsanika-parvan[3] and in the *Rāmāyaṇa*[4] as well as in numerous Purāṇas[5] and Dharmaśāstra works[6]. In many of these works, the verse is introduced as a *gāthā* sung by the Pitṛs or Ṛṣis. There cannot be any doubt that this *gāthā* was composed many centuries before the Pāla age and probably even before the rise of the Guptas in the fourth century A.D.

The *Mahābhārata* (III, 95) describes how, at Brahma-saras (within Gayā), *Rājarṣi* Gaya, son of Amūrtarayas, performed many sacrifices distinguished by 'hundreds of mountains of food and thousands of lakes of clarified butter, many hundred rivers of curds, and streams of curries in thousands' and how people in all lands used to sing *gāthās* on the subject. Elsewhere the same work (VII, 64) speaks of Gaya's sacrificial altar of solid gold that was 30 *yojanas* long, 26 *yojanas* broad and 24 *yojanas* high and how, upon the completion of the sacrifice, 25 hills of food remained over together with many lakes and rivulets of savoury drinks. In consequence of this glorious performance, Brahma-saras and the 'eternal-making banyan-tree' (*i.e.* the Akṣaya-vaṭa) at the place are stated to have become famous throughout the three worlds.[7] The same saintly king named Gaya is also known

1. Calcutta ed., Ch. 84, verses 82-98 ; Ch. 87, verses 8-12.
2. Cf. critical ed., III, 85, 7.
3. Ch. 88, 14.
4. Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa, 107, 13.
5. Cf. *Matsya*, 22, 6 ; *Vāyu*, 105, 10 ; *Kūrma*, II, 34, 13 ; *Brahma*, 220, 32 ; *Padma*, Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa, 11, 65 or 68 and Ādi-khaṇḍa, 38, 17 ; *Nāradīya*, Uttara-khaṇḍa, 44, 5-6 ; etc.
6. Cf. Viṣṇu, 85, 63 ; Atri, verse 55 ; Bṛhaspati, verse 21 ; Likhita, verse 10 ; etc. (*Ūnaviṁśatisaṁhitā*, Calcutta, pp. 4, 113, 347, 428).
7. See also S. Sorenson, *An Index to the Names in the Mahābhārata*, pp. 302-03

from the *Rāmāyaṇa*,[1] *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*[2] *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*,[3] *Agni Purāṇa*,[4] *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*,[5] *Vāmana Purāṇa*,[6] etc., although his parentage is sometimes given differently. The antiquity of the tradition is definitely proved by Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita*[7] composed in the first or second century A.D., during the age of the Kuṣāṇas. This work speaks of the Buddha's visit to the hermitage called 'the city of the royal sage Gaya'. The same person was later conceived as a great giant.[8] The demon's body is said to have been 125 *yojanas* in height and 60 *yojanas* in girth. It will be seen that, while the 25 hills of the *Mahābhārata* story were imagined to explain the existence of sacred hills in the Gayā area, the huge body of the demon was conceived as the hilly region, studded with holy spots, extending from Gayā to the coastal areas of the Bay of Bengal. Gaya's head was believed to be represented by Gaya-śiras or Gaya-śīrṣa (Gayā-śiras or Gayā-śīrṣa) at Gayā while Virajā or Jājpur in the Cuttack District of Orissa and Pithapuram in the Godavari District of Andhra Pradesh were taken to represent respectively his navel and feet.[9] The frequent mention of the shaking of the earth in this connection in the *Vāyu Purāṇa* (Ch. 106) possibly hints at earthquakes that occasionally depopulated Gayā.[10]

It may be noticed in this connection that the *Yājñavalkya-saṁhitā*, which does not specially deal with *tīrtha-māhātmya*, also recognises the greatness and sanctity of Gayā (Ācār-ādhyāya, verse 261):

यद्ददाति गयास्थश्च सर्वमानन्त्यमश्नुते ।
तथा वर्षत्रयोदश्यां मघासु च विशेषतः ॥

The code of Yājñavalkya has to be assigned to the fourth century

1. Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa, Ch. 107.
2. V, Ch. 15.
3. Ch. 34.
4. Ch. 107.
5. IV, Ch. 11.
6. Ch. 76.
7. XII, 87-88.
8. Cf. *Vāyu Purāṇa*, Ch. 105 ff., etc.
9. N. L. Dey, *Geographical Dictionary*, pp. 64-65.
10. Cf. the deserted appearance of the holy place referred to by the Chinese pilgrims.

A.D.[1] although some scholars are inclined to ascribe it to 'the first two centuries of the Christian era or even a little earlier'.[2]

That Gayā was a famous place of p' grimage during the Gupta age is also clear from the accounts of the Chinese pilgrims. Fa-hien visited the place about the beginning of the fifth century when the locality offered a rather deserted appearance.[3] According to Hiuen-tsang, who visited Gayā about 637 A.D., "This city was strongly situated but had few inhabitants; there were about 1000 Brāhmaṇa families, descendants of the original Ṛṣi, and these were not subject to the king, and were treated by all with reverence......From ancient times, sovereigns who have spread their good government to distant peoples and in merit have excelled previous dynasties, all ascend this mountain (the Gayā mountain to the south-west of the city) and solemnly announce what they have done. On the top of the mountain was a stone Tope (*Stūpa*) above 100 feet high built by Aśoka at the place where Buddha uttered the Pao-yun and other *Sūtras*."[4] The Pao-yun has been taken to be the *Ratnagarbhasūtra* said to have been communicated to the disciples of the Buddha, assembled on the Gaya-śiras or Gaya-śīrṣa (Gayā-śiras or Gayā-śīrṣa) hill, identified by many scholars with the modern Brahmayoni hill near Gayā. The objections to this identification and to the location of ancient Gayā at the site of the present city of that name are not quite convincing. Moreover, those who object do not say that the ancient Gayā *tīrtha* lay far away from present Gayā in a region outside Bihar. The Brāhmaṇas of Gayā referred to in the Chinese account are no doubt the ancestors of the celebrated Gayāla Brāhmaṇas of today. These Brāhmaṇas are mentioned in the Śaktipur copper-plate inscription[5] of king Lakṣmaṇasena (*circa* 1179-1206 A.D.) of Bengal. They appear to have claimed descent from *Rājarṣi* Gaya. Hiuen-tsang's observations show beyond doubt that Gayā was already a famous holy place long

1. Cf. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 279.
2. Kane, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 187.
3. Cf. *A Record of the Buddhist Kingdom*, translated by James Legge, pp. 87 ff.
4. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. II, pp. 110-11.
5. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 216 ff.

before the seventh century if not actually in the age of the Maurya emperor Aśoka (*circa* 269-232 B.C.). But there is evidence to to show that Gayā is a much older *tīrtha* even earlier than the age of the Buddha.

Gaya as a personal name, with which the holy place called Gaya or Gayā (cf. Gaya-śiras or Gayā° and Gaya-śīrṣa or Gayā°) is intimately associated, is well known from the *Ṛgveda*[1] and *Atharvaveda*.[2] The unanimous testimony of the Puranic writers and medieval lexicographers suggests that the Gayā region was known to the Rigvedic seers as Kīkaṭa.[3] Although pilgrimage to holy places for the sake of merit seems to be a non-Aryan religious institution which took some time in being fully approved by the Brahmanical society, the importance of the holy hill called Gaya-śiras at Gayā appears to have been recognised in very early times. This is suggested by Yāska's *Nirukta* (12, 19). which, while explaining the Vedic passage *tredhā nidadhe padam*,[4] quotes the view of an earlier authority named Aurṇavābha saying that Viṣṇu plants his foot at Samārohaṇa, Viṣṇu-pada and Gaya-śiras. These were evidently three holy spots. Since in the whole of India, there is only one Gaya-śiras or Gaya-śīrṣa (Gayā-śiras or Gayā-śīrṣa) near Gayā in Bihar, the tradition, attributed to Aurṇavābha by Yāska who is believed by scholars to have flourished between 700 and 500 B.C.[5], certainly points to the antiquity of Gayā as a recognised holy place of antiquity. The conclusion is supported by the frequent mention of the holy spots at Gayā and its neighbourhood in early Buddhist literature.

The earliest literary works of the Buddhists very often mention Gayā (also Gayā-tīrtha, Gayā-śīrṣa, Gayā-nadī and Gayā-puṣkariṇī) as well as a festival held there and called Gayā-phalgu or Gayā-phalgunī. See the *Vinayapiṭaka*,[6] *Saṁyuttanikāya*,[7]

1. V. 9 1 ; X 63, 1 and 64, 1.
2. I, 14, 4.
3. Cf. Raychaudhuri, *Studies in Indian Antiquities*, pp. 17-19.
4. *Ṛgveda*, I, 22, 17.
5. Winternitz, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 69, note.
6. Ed. Oldenberg, Vol. I, pp. 8, 34.
7. P. T. S., Vol. I p. 207.

Aṅguttaranikāya,[1] *Suttanipāta*,[2] etc. All these works are to be assigned to dates before the beginning of the Christian era. The Buddha is stated to have stayed at Gayā on several occasions. It was at Gayā-śīrṣa that the well-known *Gayāsūtra* was preached by him.[3] The evidence of the Buddhist works of the Gupta age supports what has already been said above on the strength of Brahmanical literature. Buddhaghoṣa (5th century) applies the name Gayā both to a locality and a bathing place near it; but Dharmapāla (*circa* 6th century)[4] in his *Udāna* commentary[5] mentions Gayā-nadī and Gayā-puṣkariṇī as two distinct bathing places, both known as Gayā-tīrtha and supposed to possess the power to wash away sins: "People went there, offered sacrifices to the gods, recited the Vedas, and immersed themselves in the water."[6] In Buddhist literature, Gayā is sometimes called Brahma-Gayā (cf. the name of old Brahma-saras and of modern Brahma-yoni at Gayā) to avoid its confusion with the Buddha's Gayā.

The facts discussed above do not appear to support the contention that Gayā became an all-India *tīrtha* during the age of the Pālas (*circa* 750-1200 A.D.).

1. P. T. S., Vol. IV, p. 302.
2. P. T. S., p. 47.
3. Cf. *Aṅguttaranikāya*, Vol. IV, pp. 302 ff.; *Mahāvagga*, I, 21, 1 (S. B. E., Vol. XIII, p. 134).
4. Cf. Winternitz, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 205.
5. P. T. S., pp. 74-75; cf. *Suttanipāta* commentary, P.T.S., Vol. I, p. 301.
6. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, Vol. I, p. 752.

XIX

UDABHĀṆḌA

In the *Vaijayantī*,[1] composed by Yādavaprakāśa in the 11th century A.D., there is a passage which runs : *Gandhārās = tu Dihaṇḍās = syuḥ*, 'the Gandhāras are also known as the Dihaṇḍas'. The name Gandhāra signifying a people and their territory lying in Uttarāpatha, *i.e.* the North-Western Division of India, is well known to all students of Indian history. According to some late lexicons,[2] Gandhāra has to be identified with Kāndhāhāra, *i.e.* Kandahār in Southern Afghanistan. But this is a mistake due to the similar sounds of the two names. Although it may be tempting to conjecture that modern Kandahār owes its name to the Gandhāra occupation of Southern Afghanistan in the early period of Indian history, it is certainly more probable that the name is a corruption of that of the city of Alexandria founded by Alexander the Great (Persian *Iskandar* or *Sikandar*) in the land of the Arachosians near the site of modern Kandahār. There is definite evidence as regards the location of the Gandhāra *janapada* about the present Rawalpindi District of the Punjab and the Peshawar District of the North-Western Frontier in Pakistan.[3] According to epic and Puranic traditions, the Gandhāra *viṣaya*, which lay on both sides of the Indus, contained two great cities called Takṣaśilā and Puṣkalāvatī. The remains of Takṣaśilā lie immediately to the east and north-east of the Saraikala Railway Junction, 20 miles north-west of Rawalpindi, in the valley of the river Haro. There are remains of three distinct cities, of which the southernmost and oldest occupied the site of an elevated plateau now known as the Bhir Mound. The ancient city of Puṣkalāvatī or Puṣkarāvatī, 'the city of lotuses', was situated on the Swat in the modern Prang-Charsadda-Mir Ziyarat region, about 17 miles north-east of Peshawar.

1. Paryāya-bhāga, III. 1. 24.
2. Cf. *Śabdakalpadruma*, s. v.
3. Cf. Raychaudhuri, *Pol. Hist. Anc. Ind.*, 1938, pp. 50-52, 124-25.

It is however really curious that Dihaṇḍa, as the name of the famous Gandhāra people, is known from no other source excepting the *Vaijayantī*. This name seems therefore to have been actually based on a wrong reading of the manuscripts of Yādavaprakāśa's work, whose geographical section is full of mistakes.[1] A people is known not only after the land occupied by them, but very often also after their capital city, and we have to see if the form Dihaṇḍa may be associated with the name of the early medieval capital of the Gandhāra country.

Al-Bīrūnī, who was a contemporary of Yādavaprakāśa and wrote his celetrated work on India about 1030 A.D., refers to the 'capital of Al-Kandahār (Gandhāra), *i.e.* Vaihand'.[2] Elsewhere he speaks of 'Waihind, the capital of Kandhāra (Gandhāra), west of the river Sindh',[3] which is said to have been situated 14 *farsakh* (about 52 miles) to the south-east of Purshāwar (Peshawar). Both here and in another context,[4] Al-Bīrūnī locates Vaihand (Waihind) between Peshawar and the river Jhelam. There is no doubt that Vaihand has to be identified with modern Und near Attock on the Indus. As Raychaudhuri points out,[5] an Arabic work called *Hudud-ul 'Alam* (982-83 A.D.) speaks of Waihind as a big city, with some Muslim population, under king Jayapāla who was a feudatory of the Rāy of Kanauj, probably Pratīhāra Vijayapāla. The Sanskrit form of the name is Udabhāṇḍapura (or Udakabhāṇḍapura) which was the capital of the great Śāhi king Lalliya (*c.* 875-90 A.D.) and his successors according to the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* of Kalhaṇa. According to Firishta, the dominions of the Śāhi king Jayapāla (*c.* 965-1001 A.D.), son of Ishtpāl (probably the same as Aṣaṭapāladeva known from his coins), extended in length from Sirhind to Lamghan and in breadth from the kingdom of Kashmir to Mūltān. This ruler is further said to have resided in a fort, the correct reading of whose name is apparently Vaihand, although some writers wrongly

1. Thus *Yavanās=tu Huruṣkarāḥ* (*sic. Turuṣkakāḥ*); *Śākhayo* (sic. *Śāhayo*); *Sūryārak-ādayaḥ* (sic. *Sūrpārak°*); *Traipurās=tu Hahālā°* (sic. *Ḍabhālā°*); etc.
2. Sachau, *Alb. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 259.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 206.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 317.
5. *Proc. I.H.C.*, 1939, p 670.

take it to be Bhatinda in the Patiala State. Firishta frequently refers to Jayapāla as the Rājā of Lahore and, as the king resided in the Vaihand fort 'for the convenience of taking steps for opposing the Muhammadans', it is hardly possible that the historian could have referred to a locality in the Eastern Punjab. It seems that, when the Śāhi possessions lying West of the Indus were threatened by the Turkish Musalmans of Ghaznī, Jayapāla transferred his capital from ancient Udabhāṇḍapura to Lahore. But even then he himself resided at the old capital which now became the advance base of his operations against the Muhamadans. It is thus possible that the passage *Gandhārās=tu Dihaṇḍās=syuḥ* is actually a mistake for *Gandhārās=t=Ūdabhāṇḍās=syuḥ*, 'the Gandhāras are also known as the Udabhāṇḍas'. But Udahāṇḍa was probably another form of the name.

According to traditions, the Kuṣāṇa emperor Kaniṣka, who ruled over extensive regions in India and Central Asia, had his capital at the city of Puruṣapura (modern Peshawar) in the Gandhāra country. Al-Bīrūnī[1] says that Kanik (*i. e.* Kaniṣka) belonged to a dynasty of Hindu kings called Śāhis who were Turks of Tibetan origin and at first began to reign in Kabul. The last king of this house was Laga Tūrmān (*i.e.* Toramāṇa) who was overthrown by his Brāhmaṇa minister Kallar, a predecessor of Jayapāla. Scholars have suggested the identification of Al-Bīrūnī's Kallar with the great Lalliya Śāhi mentioned in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. It is, however, interesting to note that Kalhaṇa represents the Śāhis as Kṣatriyas. It has also to be remembered that the Kashmirian author does not make any distinction between the early Śāhis and the Brāhmaṇa Śāhis who, according to Al-Bīrūnī, succeeded them. We are told[2] that, even before the

1. Sachau, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 10-14.
2. *Cf. Rājatar.*, IV, 140-43 :

प्रीतः पञ्चमहाशब्दभाजनं तं व्यधत्त सः ।
यशोवर्मनृपं तं तु समूलमुदपाटयत् ॥
अष्टादशानामुपरि प्राक्सिद्धानां तदुद्भवैः ।
कर्मस्थानैः स्थितिः प्राप्ता ततः प्रभृति पञ्चभिः ॥
महाप्रतीहारपीडा स महासन्धिविग्रहः ।
महाश्वशालापि महाभाण्डागारश्च पञ्चमः ॥

reign of king Lalitāditya (c. 730-66 A.D), the Śāhi-mukhyas, or chiefs belonging to the Śāhi family, were employed in the Kashmir administration as *Mahāpratīhāra*, *Mahāsāndhivigrahika*, *Mahāsvaśālika*, *Mahābhāṇḍāgārika* and *Mahāsādhanika*, the *pañca-mahāśabda* later conferred by king Lalitāditya on a single official named Mitraśarman whom he seems to have made his viceroy at Kanauj after having subdued king Yaśovarman. Of the Later Śāhis, described as Brāhmaṇa by Al-Bīrūnī, Kalhaṇa mentions Lalliya's successor and his son Kamaluka Toramāṇa (no doubt the same as Kamlū of Al-Bīrūnī, and Kamlū Rāy of Hindustan mentioned by other Arab writers), a contemporary of 'Amr ibn Layth who ruled in the Khorasan-Kabul region about the last two decades of the ninth century A.D. Kamaluka is said to have been raised to the throne about 902-04 A.D. by a Kashmirian general. Kalhaṇa also speaks of the Śāhi kings Bhīma and Thakkana. The former, who was the maternal grandfather of Diddā, queen of the Kashmirian king Kṣemagupta (950-58 A.D.), built a temple of Viṣṇu in Kashmir during Kṣemagupta's rule. A general of the Kashmirian king Abhimanyu (958-72 A.D.) is said to have defeated the Śāhi king Thakkana who may have been the grandfather of Jayapāla. The latest Śāhi king mentioned by Kalhaṇa is Trilocanapāla (1013-21 A.D.) whose struggle with the Hammīra, *i.e.* Sulṭān Mahmūd of Ghaznī, is also described. Then, after having referred to the final collapse of Śāhi rule in another context, the Kashmirian author says that even in his days, *i.e.* in the middle of the 12th century A.D., 'the appellation *Śahi* throws its lustre on a numberless host of Kṣatriyas abroad, who trace their origin to that royal family'.[1]

It will be seen that the Kashmirians, who knew the Śāhis from before the middle of the eighth century down at least to the twelfth, regarded them as Kṣatriyas, although Al-Bīrūnī refers to the Hindu Śāhis of Turko-Tibetan origin and their successors of Brāhmaṇa origin. That the early Śāhis were regarded, in

महासाधनभागश्चेत्येता यैरभिधाः श्रिताः ।
शाहिमुख्या येष्वसवन्नभ्यक्ताः पृथिवीभुजः ॥

1. *Ibid.*, VIII, 3230.

spite of their foreign origin, as Kṣatriyas in India is also indicated by another evidence. In the second quarter of the 7th century A.D., when the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-tsang was passing through Uttarāpatha, Udakahāṇḍa[1] or Udabhāṇḍapura was the place of residence or a secondary capital of the emperor of Kāpiśa which then dominated over ten neighbouring States and comprised Lampāka (Laghman), Nagara or Nagarahāra (Jalalabad), Gandhāra and Varṇa (Bannu) and probably also Jāguḍa (Southern Afghanistan with Ghaznī as the chief city). About Gandhāra, the pilgrim says that its capital was Puruṣapura; 'the royal family was extinct and the country was subject to Kāpiśa; the towns and villages were desolate and the inhabitants were very few'.[3] It seems that, under pressure of the Turks from the north and the Arabs from the south and west, the kings of Kāpiśa left their western possessions in the hands of viceroys,[4] and made Udabhāṇḍa their principal seat of residence. The reason why Udabhāṇḍapura was selected in preference to the older capital Peshawar is at present unknown. But it is possible that the new city was built by the Kāpiśa kings for strategic reasons.

The facts that Kalhaṇa speaks of the Śāhis with reference to the period earlier than that of Lalitāditya (*c.* 730-66 A.D.) and of Udabhāṇḍa as the capital of the Śāhis at least from the time of Lalliya (*c.* 875-90 A.D.) and that Chinese evidence refers to the city as the residence of the emperor of Kāpiśa about 645 A.D. would suggest that Hiuen-tsang's king of Kāpiśa was a Śāhi ruler. It is interesting to note that this king has been described by Hiuentsang as a Kṣatriya.[5]

1. This seems to be the Indian form that was at the root of the Chinese *Wu-to-kia-han-cha*. Cf. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. I, p. 221.

2. Cf. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol I, pp. 60-61.

3. Watters, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

4. These viceroys appear to have been mentioned as the Satraps of Zaranj, capital of Seistan, and as *Rantbil* or *Rutbil* (probably Sanskrit *Prāntapāla*) or *Zunbīl* (probably Sanskrit *Janapāla*) ruling over Southern Afghanistan. Whether the *Kabul-Shāh* was a viceroy or 'the Śāhi of Kabul' indicating the paramount ruler cannot be determined. Cf. Ray, *op. cit.*, pp. 165 ff.

5. Watters, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

XX

DACCA

Dacca is the Anglicised form of the name of the capital of East Pakistan (East Bengal). It is written in Bengali as *Ḍhākā* (cf. the same word literally meaning 'covered'). The principal deity worshipped there is called Ḍhākeśvarī. The name Dacca is also applied to a District and a Division of the Province. The real meaning of the name *Ḍhākā* (Dacca) has not been satisfactorily determined, although 'Dacca Muslin' was famous in the medieval world and *Ḍhākā* (apparently derived from the name in question) was the name applied to all muslins, imported through Kābul, throughout Central Asia. Prior to 1801, the annual advances for the Dacca muslin are said to have amounted to £250,000. According to the *Hobson-Jobson* by Henry Yule and A. C. Burnell, the name is derived from the tree called Ḍhāk or Palās, and means 'the wood of Ḍhāk trees.'[1] But nobody has taken the explanation seriously. According to some writers, *Dacca* is a corruption of the name of the ancient state of Ḍavāka mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta as a *pratyanta*, *i.e.* a state bordering on the Gupta empire, about the middle of the fourth century A.D.[2] Unfortunately the theory was always viewed at with a considerable amount of doubt and recent writers on the subject believe that the ancient kingdom of Ḍavāka lay actually about the Ḍabokā region in the valley of the Kapilī river running through the Nowgong District of Assam.[3]

It is usually believed that the fame and prosperity of Dacca are not older than the days of the Great Mughals. We know that the city is not mentioned in any record of the pre-Muslim period of Indian history. For a few centuries before and after the Muslim conquest of West Bengal in the beginning of the thirteenth century,

1. Ed. W. Crooke, London, 1903, p. 290.
2. *J.P.A.S.B.*, 1910, p. 144.
3. Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 258, note 1.

the celebrated city of Vikramapura was the administrative headquarters of East Bengal. There is difference of opinion as regards the location of this city ; but some authors appear to be right in holding that it was washed away in the early medieval period by the waters of the Padmā whose erosive activities in the neighbourhood of Dacca have earned for her the name *Kīrtināśā*, literally meaning 'destroyer of fame (*i.e.*, the fame-producing works of men)'. Nothing is known about the existence of the city of Dacca even long after the expansion of Muslim rule over East Bengal. During this period the neighbouring city of Suvarṇagrāma or Sonārgāon became the political centre of East Bengal. In the early years of the seventeenth century, during the reign of the Mughal emperor Jahāngīr, Sheikh 'Alāuddīn Islām Khān (1608-13 A.D.) was appointed governor of the Subah of Bengal. Islām Khān transferred the provincial capital from Rājmahal to Dacca where he built a brick fort and a palace. It has been said that Islām Khān's desire to subdue the Portuguese and Arakanese pirates, who were ravaging South-East Bengal about that time, was the main cause of the transference of the provincial headquarters to Dacca. The new capital of the province was styled Jahāngīr-nagar after the reigning Mughal emperor. The fame and prosperity of Dacca began from this time.

Although Dacca thus seems to have become a great city only in the early years of the seventeenth century, there is reason to believe that it enjoyed some amount of political importance even in the early Muslim and pre-Muslim periods. This is not only indicated by Islām Khān's choice of the place as the provincial capital,[1] but also by the very name of *Dacca* itself.

Stewart regards Dacca as a modern town since he could not trace its name in Abul Fazl's *Ain-i-Akbarī* which gives an exhaustive account of Akbar's dominions ; but H. Blochman pointed out that the Mahall to which it belonged is actually mentioned in the *Ain-i-Akbarī* as Dhakkā Bāzū, although in Gladwin's

1. For some pre-Mughal and even pre-Muhammadan relics in the Dacca area and other interesting observations, see 'An Enquiry into the Origin of Dacca' by N. K. Bhattasali, *J. R. A. S. B.*, Letters, Vol. V, pp. 447-53.

translation of the work the name is spelt as *Dukha Bazoo*.[1] Blochman further points out that Ḍhākā also occurs in Abul Fazl's *Akbarnāmah* composed in 1584 A.D. and that A. Phayre refers it to 1400 A.D.[2]

The name *Ḍhākā* (Dacca) is apparently a Prakrit corruption of Sanskrit *Ḍhakka* (or possibly *Ḍhakkaka*). As a matter of fact, this form of the name (together with the variant *Ḍhakkā*) is found in a large number of records belonging to the late medieval period. The word *ḍhakkā* is no doubt derived from Sanskrit *ḍhakka*, meaning 'a drum', and it is interesting to note that the celebrated Kashmir chronicle, the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* composed by Kalhaṇa about the middle of the twelfth century, uses the word in the technical sense of a 'drum-station' or 'watch-station'.

The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (III, 227) has the following verse :

क्रमवर्त्ताभिधाने स प्रदेशे प्राप्तवांस्ततः ।
ढक्कं कांबुवनामानं योद्य शूरपुरे स्थितः ॥

"Then he (poet Mātṛgupta) reached, in the province of Kramavarta, the *Ḍhakka* called Kāmbuva, which is at present stationed at Śūrapura." The same *Ḍhakka* is mentioned elsewhere (V, 39) in the following verse :

स्वकृते पत्तनवरे तेन शूरपुराभिधे ।
क्रमवर्त्तप्रदेशस्थो ढक्कोभूद्विनिवेशितः ॥

"In the excellent town of Śūrapura, founded by him (*i.e.* Śūra who was a minister of king Avantivarman, 858-83 A.D.), was lodged the *Ḍhakka* of the province of Kramavarta."

In the same section of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, we have a third verse (V, 306) that runs as follows :

भ्रष्टश्रीश्चक्रमथ निशि श्रीढक्कवासिनः ।
एकदा डामराग्रस्य संग्रामस्याविशद् गृहम् ॥

"Then on one occasion Cakravarman (king of Kashmir, 923-37 A.D.), stripped of splendour, entered in the night in the house of Saṁgrāma who was the chief of the *ḍāmaras* (landlords) and was living at the beautiful *Ḍhakka*."

1. See *J. A. S. B.*, 1873, Part I, p. 216, note ; Blochman's *Ain-i-Akbarī*, text, p. 407.
2. Cf. *J.A.S.B.*, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

Scholars have suggested that there was in ancient Kashmir a famous watch-station at the village of Śūrapura (modern Hurpor). Drums must have been at the watch-station and were sounded to announce to the people things like the advent of enemies or any imminent danger. It is therefore clear that 'the *Ḍhakka* called Kāmbuva' really means 'the watch-station that was situated at the locality called Kāmbuva'. This *Ḍhakka*, originally stationed at Kāmbuva in the province of Kramavarta, was transferred in the ninth century to the village of Śūrapura in the same province. The expression *Kramavarta-pradeśa-stha* seems to suggest that different *pradeśas* of the ancient kingdom of Kashmir were endowed each with a *Ḍhakka*.

It seems to us that *Ḍhākā* (Dacca) was a similar watch-station during the days of the pre-Muslim rulers of East Bengal and thus had some political importance even in the early period. This suggestion appears to be supported by a passage in the *Prākṛtānuśāsana* by Puruṣottama who is said to have adorned the court of king Lakṣmaṇasena (*circa* 1179-1206 A.D.) of Bengal. The only manuscript of this work so far discovered is known to have been copied in the year 385 of the Newari era of Nepal, which started from 879 A.D. The date of the copy is therefore 1264 A.D. The *Prākṛtānuśāsana* describes several Prakrit dialects called Vibhāṣā, one of which is given the name *Ḍhakka-bhāṣā*, *i.e.* the dialect spoken in the region known as Ḍhakka. It may, however, be argued that Ḍhakka in this case does not really refer to Dacca in Eastern Bengal but is a corruption of the name of another land called Ṭakka which was situated in the Punjab. This view can hardly be accepted since the *Ṭakkadeśīya-vibhāṣā*, *i.e.* the dialect spoken in the Ṭakka country, has been separately mentioned in Puruṣottama's *Prākṛtānuśāsana.*[1] As a matter of fact, we have no knowledge of any other locality called *Ḍhakka* excepting the place of that name, now called *Ḍhākā* (Dacca), in Eastern Bengal (East Pakistan).

It may also be argued that Dacca could have hardly enjoyed so much cultural influence in the twelfth and thirteenth

1. See my *Grammar of the Prakrit Language*, Calcutta, 1943, pp. 114, 118.

centuries, when the political centre of the country was not at this place but at the neighbouring city of Vikramapura, (and later at Suvarṇagrāma in the same neighbourhood) to stamp its name on the dialect spoken in the locality. In our opinion, however, such a possibility is not altogether out of question.

XXI

KĀLAPRIYA AND BRAHMAŚILĀ

There is an interesting passage in Rājaśekhara's *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*[1] which refers to the Antarvedī tract bounded by the Ganges in the north, the Jumna in the south, Vinaśana (the same as Kurukṣetra according to the *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa*[2]) in the west and Prayāga (Allahabad) in the east. Thereafter the passage runs—

तदपेक्षया दिशो विभजेत इत्याचार्याः । तत्रापि महोदयं मूलमधिकृत्य इति यायावरीयः । अनियतत्वाद्दिशामनिश्चितो दिग्विभाग इत्येके । तथा हि यो वामनस्वामिनः पूर्वः स ब्रह्मशिलायाः पश्चिमः यो गाधिपुरस्य दक्षिणः स कालप्रियस्योत्तर इति । अवधिनिबन्धनमिदं रूपमितरत्त्वनियतमेव इति यायवरीयः ।

The reference to the four localities—Vāmanasvāmin in the west, Brahmaśilā in the east, Gādhipura in the north and Kālapriya in the south—is very interesting to the student of the historical, geography of ancient India, especially when we know that the author of the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* lived for long at Kanauj, the capital of his Pratīhāra patrons. In the notes appended to the G. O. S. edition of the above work (pp. 243-44), it has been suggested that the said four localities were situated respectively in the western, eastern, northern and southern suburbs of the city of Kanauj.

It has been pointed out that, according to the *Padma Purāṇa*,[3] Rāma built a temple for the god Vāmana at Mahodaya, *i.e.* Kanauj. The author of the notes, referred to above, conjectures that the temple of Vāmana was probably situated at the western end of the city. He admits that Rājaśekhara's own *Bāla-Rāmāyaṇa* (X, 88) applies the name Gādhipura to Kanauj itself, and indeed this identification is supported by a number of authori-

1. G. O. S. edition, 1934, p. 94
2. III, 14—कुरुक्षेत्रं विनशनम्.
3. Dey, *Geographical Dictionary*, p. 87 ; *Padma Purāṇa*, Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa, Chapter 35 (Vaṅgavāsī edition, Ch. 38, 186-87); Uttara-khaṇḍa, Ch. 53.

ties including Hemacandra.[1] Still, however, he concludes that Gādhipura was a locality in the northern suburbs of Kanauj, while Kālapriya was at its southern end. It has been rightly pointed out that the dramas of Bhavabhūti, who lived at the court of king Yaśovarman of Kanauj (*c.* 725-52 A. D.), were staged before the audience assembled in connection with the festivities held in honour of the god Kālapriyanātha, the presiding deity of the locality called Kālapriya. The views of the commentators on Bhavabhūti's works identifying Kālapriyanātha with the god Mahākāleśvara of Ujjain or with the presiding deity of Padmapura, Bhavabhūti's birth place, have, again, been rightly rejected. It has then been suggested that Kālapriyanātha was probably the presiding deity of the city of Kanauj which was the capital of Bhavabhūti's patron and that possibly the god's temple was situated in the southern suburbs of the city. The position of Brahmaśilā at the eastern end of Kanauj has been conjecturally determined on the strength of the identification of the other three localities.

It will be seen that the location of the four places in the suburbs of Kanauj is actually based on mere conjecture. It must be admitted that Gādhipura was either another name of Kanauj or at least the name of a part of the city. We should therefore search for a locality called Kālapriya to the south of Kanauj. According to Bhavabhūti's works, the poet's ancestral home was at Padmapura which lay in the Deccan, *i.e.* to the south with reference to the shrine of the god Kālapriyanātha. It is strange that some scholars have identified this Padmapura with Padam Pawaya (ancient Padmāvatī) near Narwar (ancient Nalapura) in the former Gwalior State.[2] The prelude to Bhavabhūti's *Vīracarita* places Padmapura in Dakṣiṇāpatha or the Deccan, while the *Mālatīmādhava*, with more definiteness, locates it in Vidarbha (modern Berar) in Dakṣiṇāpatha. The identification of Bhavabhūti's birthplace with modern Padampur in the Bhandara Dis-

1. *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*, Bhūmi-kāṇḍa, vv. 39-40—कान्यकुब्जं महोदयम् ।
कन्यकुब्जं गाधिपुरं कौशं कुशस्थलं च तत् ॥
2. Cf. Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, p. 209.

trict, near the Amgaon Railway Station, seems to be reasonable. The village of Padampur, it may be pointed out, lies directly to the south of Kanauj. It is very interesting to note that the only Kālapriya known to history and situated, like both Kanauj and Padampur, to the west of long. 80, appears to be modern Kālpī on the Jumna in the Jalaon District of U. P., about 75 miles directly to the south of Kanauj. It was an important station between the Ganges-Jumna Doab and the South not only during the Muslim period, but also in the early medieval age. In the first quarter of the tenth century A.D., when Indra III (915-28 A.D.),[1] the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king of the Deccan, was advancing against Kanauj, the capital of his Pratīhāra enemies, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa army was for a time encamped at Kālpī where it crossed the Jumna. The Cambay plates of Govinda IV give the story in the following verse :

यन्माद्यद्विपदन्तघातविषमं कालप्रियप्राङ्गणं
तीर्णा यत्तुरगैरगाधयमुना सिन्धुप्रतिस्पर्धिनी ।
येनेदं हि महोदयारिनगरं निर्मूलमुन्मूलितं
नाम्नाद्यापि कुशस्थलमिति ख्यातिं परां नीयते ॥[2]

1. The date of his northern expedition is usually supposed to be 916 A.D. as Indra III is believed to have died in 917 A.D. Both the dates are, however, wrong since the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king is known to have ruled till 928 A.D.Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 49-50.

2. Cf. Altekar *The Rāṣṭakūṭas and their Times*, p.102. There is a pun on the word *Kuśasthala* which indicates the city of Kanauj as well as a field covered with *kuśa* grass. According to the much exaggerated claim put forward in the verse, Indra III totally destroyed the city of Kanauj which from that time became a field of *kuśa* grass. There is however no reason to believe that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were successful in razing Kanauj to the ground or to paralyse Pratīhāra power in the Doab even for a short period. That Malwa was occupied by Indra III is concluded from the wrong identification of Kālapriyanātha with Mahākāleśvara of Ujjain. For Pratīhnra possession of Malwa, cf. the Partabgarh inscriptions of Mahendrapāla II, dated 946 A.D. The verse—

यस्य परुषेक्षिताखिलदक्षिणदिग्दुर्गविजयमाकर्ण्य ।
गलिता गूर्जरहृदयात् कालंजरचित्रकूटाशा ॥

in the Deoli (940 A.D.) and Karhad (959 A.D.) plates of Kṛṣṇa III does not imply that the Pratīhāra fortresses of Kālañjara and Citrakūṭa (Chitor) were captured by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas who, however, merely threatened them. The claim of Govinda IV having been served by the Ganges and the Jumna does not, again, prove his mastery over the Doab, but simply refers to the artificial representation of Gaṅgā and Yamunā at his palace gate. The *praśasti* of the Cālukya chief Narasiṁha, probably a feudatory of Indra III to have defeated Pratīhāra Mahīpāla I and to have bathed his horses at the junction of the *Gaṅgā-vārdaiyoḷ* as found in the *Pampa-Bhārata* appears to be a hopeless

The identity of Kālapriya with Kālpī is proved by epigraphic evidence. In the Khaḍāvadā inscription (1484 A.D.) of king Ghiyās Khaljī of Maṇḍū, Husaṁga Gorī (Hushang Alp Khān Ghūrī) is represented as having defeated Kādira Sāhi (Abdul Qādir), ruler of Kālapriya-pattana, and having made the latter's son, Salaha, a Khān at Māṇḍū. This Kālapriya-pattana is apparently different from Ujjain and Kanauj and is no doubt the same as Kālpī. The name Kālapriya applied to Kālpī can thus be traced to a date as late as the fifteenth century A.D.[1] At Kālpī, there still exists a temple of Kālapriya. Kālpī must have formed a part of the Kanauj kingdom under Yaśovarman. The annual fair and festivities held in honour of Kālpriyanātha were no doubt the most famous in the whole kingdom. It was, therefore, not at all unnatural that Bhavabhūti's dramas were staged on such occasions at Kālpī.

If the *Padma Purāṇa* is to be believed, the temple of Vāmanasvāmin was situated somewhere in the city of Kanauj. We should, therefore, search for a locality called Brahmaśilā to the east of Kanauj. This Brahmaśilā seems to be no other than Barhamshil mentioned by Al-Bīrūnī who says, "A man marching from Kanoj to the south between the two rivers Jaun and Ganges passes the following well-known places :—Jajjamau, 12 *farsakh* from Kanoj, each *farsakh* being equal to four miles or one *Kuroh*; Abhāpurī, 8 *farsakh;* Kuraha, 8 *farsakh;* Barhamshil, 8 *farsakh*; the Tree of Prayāga, 12 *farsakh*, the place where the waters of the Jaun join the Ganges, where the Hindus torment themselves with various kinds of tortures which are described in the books about religious sects."[2] As regards the measure of distance, Al-Bīrūnī says that the *Krośa* is equal to 'our mile,' *yojana* is 'equal to 8 miles or to 32,000 yards,' and '1 *Kuroh*=$\frac{1}{8}$ *yojana*'.[3]

exaggeration. The decline of the Gurjara Pratīhāras had nothing especially to do with the northern expedition of Indra III. It was hastened by constant warfare on all fronts and especially by the protracted struggle for the throne (after the death of Mahīpāla I) about the middle of the tenth century A.D. Cf. Ray, *D.H.N.I.*, Vol. I, pp. 580-90.

1. See *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 12 ff.
2. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, Vol. I, p. 200.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 167.

One *farsakh* was therefore equal to 4 Arabic miles and to $3\frac{771}{1093}$ English miles.[1]

Al-Bīrūnī thus gives the distance from Kanauj to Jajjamau as about 45 miles; from Jajjamau to Abhāpurī as about 30 miles; from Abhāpurī to Kuraha as about 30 miles; from Kuraha to Brahmaśilā as about 30 miles; and from Brahmaśilā to Prayāga or Allāhābad as about 45 miles. Brahmaśilā thus lay about 45 miles to the west or north-west of Allāhābād and was situated in the Doab between Kanauj and Allāhābād. It was therefore to the east or south-east of Kanauj.

1. Cf. *ibid.* Vol. II p. 316.

XXII

CARTOGRAPHY

There is no special word in Sanskrit for 'a map'. The word *nakshā* (from Arabic *naqshah*) has been adopted in most modern Indian languages in this sense, although it also signifies 'a picture, a plan, a general description, an official report.' In Eastern India, the word *māna-citra* has been coined to indicate the English word 'map'. The absence of any special Sanskrit word raises the question whether map-drawing was at all known to the Indians of old. There is, however, reason to believe that in ancient India a map or chart was regarded as a *citra* or *ālekhya*, *i.e.* 'a painting, a picture, a delineation'. It will be seen that the Sanskrit word *citra* and its synonyms have practically the same meaning as the Arabic word *naqshah*.

That maps were made in ancient India seems to be quite clear from the evidence of the *New History of the T'ang Dynasty*[1] which gives an account of the Chinese general Wang Hiuen-tse's exploits in India in the year 648 A.D., as to how with the help of 1000 Tibetan soldiers and 7000 Nepalese horsemen he defeated and captured Na-fu-ti O-lo-na-shuen, who had usurped Chi-lo-i-to's (*i.e.* Śīlāditya-Harṣavardhana's) throne, in a battle near the town of Cha-puo-ho-lo, and received the submission of 580 walled towns as well as the offer of friendship of Chi-kieu-mo (*i.e.* Śrī-Kumāra *alias* Bhāskaravarman), king of Eastern India. King Chi-kieu-mo's presents to the Chinese general is stated to have included 30000 oxen and horses and considerable war material and it is further said in this connection that the said king of Kia-mu-lu (*i.e.* Kāmarūpa) presented to the Chinese emperor some curious articles including 'a map of the country'. This map of Kāmarūpa appears to have been prepared by the artists at king Bhāskaravarman's court.

1. See *Journ. As. Soc.*, Letters, Vol. XIX, 1953, p. 38.

Act I of the *Uttararāmacarita* by Bhavabhūti, who flourished in the eighth century A.D., is styled 'the inspection of the painting'. It is said that a painter (*citrakara*) painted along a walk (*vīthikā*) the experiences (*carita*) of the Ikṣvāku king Rāma of Ayodhyā in Daṇḍak-āraṇya, Kiṣkindhyā, Laṅkā and other places, according to the instructions of the king's brother Lakṣmaṇa who had accompanied Rāma to the forests. These paintings included some which are said to have depicted particular regions and may be regarded as a sort of maps. One of the paintings seems to have been conceived as showing the Prasravaṇa hill as 'extending to the heart of Janasthāna whose darkness is deepened by perpetually pouring clouds and whose caves ring with the flow of the Godāvarī which is embraced by the forests at the skirts that are of a uniformly mild blue colour because of the dense rows of trees."[1] The reference to forests painted in mild blue colour is interesting. Another picture of the nature of a map in the same context is introduced by Lakṣmaṇa to Rāma and Sītā in the following words: "Here is the tract (*bhāga*) of the Daṇḍaka forest, known as Citrakuñjavat, to the west of Janasathāna, haunted by the headless giant Danu ; this is the site (*pada*) of the hermitage of Mataṅga on the Ṛṣyamūka hill ; this again is the emaciated Śavara woman named Śramaṇā ; this is the celebrated lake calle Pampā."[2]

The above references to map-like paintings in an eighth century Sanskrit drama remind us of the following remarks of Wilford made about a century and a half ago : "Besides geographical tracts, the Hindus have also maps of the world both according to the system of the Pauranics and of the astronomers; the latter are very common. They have also maps of India and of particular districts, in which latitudes and longitudes are entirely out of question, and they never make use of a scale of equal parts. The sea shores, rivers and ranges of mountains are represented by straight lines. The best map of this sort I ever saw was one of the kingdom of Nepal presented to Mr. Hastings.

1. Ed. S. Ray, Calcutta, 1934, p. 106.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 121.

It was about four feet long and two and a half broad, of pasteboard, and the mountains raised about an inch above the surface, with trees painted all round. The roads were represented by a red line and the rivers by a blue one. The various ranges were very distinct with the narrow passes through them: in short, it wanted but a scale. The valley of Nepal was accurately delineated; but towards the borders of the map everything was crowded and in confusion."[1] The map of Nepal noticed of by Wilford appears to have been of the same type as the painting the Citrakuñjavat region of Daṇḍak-āraṇya conceived by Bhavabhūti. The Indian maps mentioned by Wilford were probably uninfluenced by foreigners, as otherwise he would have added a note on the point. Unfortunately, Wilford does not say anything about the antiquity of the Indian maps noticed by him. The one of Nepal, of which he has given some details, could not have been very early.

A good deal of information on early Indian cartography under Hindu and Muslim inspiration is given by Francesco I. Pullé in his interesting work in Italian, entitled *La Cartografia Antica dell' India*, Parte I.[2] In section II of the work[3] dealing with Indian sources, there are reproductions of three maps, drawn by ancient Indian cartographers according to the Puranic ideas of cosmography and geography. As is well known, the world was regarded as consisting of seven concentric islands, each one of them encircled by a sea. The island at the centre was called Jambu-dvīpa, the southern division of which was called Bhārata-varṣa, bounded by the Himalayas in the north and the waters of the sea in the other directions.[4] Two of the three maps have been reproduced from a manuscript of the *Lokaprakāśa* which seems to have been originally composed by the celebrated Kashmirian polymath Kṣemendra in the eleventh century A.D. but contains a good deal of much later interpolation,[5] while

1. *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. VIII, 1805, pp. 270-71 ; cf. pp. 267-334 ; Vol. X, pp. 127-57.
2. *Studi Italiani di Filologia Indo-Iranica*, Vol. IV, Firenze, 1901.
3. See *op. cit.*, pp. 8-44.
4. Figure 2 at p. 16 and Figure 8 at p. 33.
5. Cf. Stein, *Raj. tar.*, trans., Vol. II, p. 313.

the third[1] from a manuscript of another work entitled *Saṁgrahaṇī*. Figure 2 represents the concentric islands and the encircling seas, while Figures 8 and 9 are representations of Jambu-dvīpa. The map of Jambu-dvīpa published in Gladwyn's translation of the *Ain-i-Akbarī*, Vol. I, was no doubt copied from an origial like those found in the manuscripts of the *Lokaprakāśa* and *Saṁgrahaṇī*, noticed by Pullé. Similar maps were found by Wilford in a manuscript of a work entitled *Kṣetrasamāsa* and were characterised by him as 'several fanciful delineations of the world'.[2] The cosmographical map from a Tibetan Buddhist source reproduced in Figure 4 at p. 23 of Pullé's work is also interesting in this connection as its origin is certainly Indian. It is, however, difficult to say whether other Tibetan drawings such as the sketch of the Cathedral of Lhāsa published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXIV, Part i, 1895, Plate XXVI, were similarly of Indian inspiration.

Figure 5 at p. 25 in Pullé's book is a Hindu map of Jambu-dvīpa and its surroundings. This is of a slightly different kind. In it, the egg-shaped island is surrounded by nine circles in a row, each representing a *graha*. In another row, encircling the *grahas*, are given the twelve *rāśis* each in an oval. Figure 6 (at p. 29) is the representation of the *nava-khaṇḍa* or the nine subdivisions of India. In Figures 10 (at p. 36) and 11 (at p. 37), Pullé has copied two maps of Jambu-dvīpa from Wilford. These are drawn after two slightly different cosmographic conceptions of the ancient Indians. On the authority of Rennel and Santarem,[3] Pullé also speaks of an old geographical map incised on a copper plate which was discovered at Monghyr.[4]

In section VII (pp.139-58) of Pullé's work, dealing with Indian cartography from Persian and Arabic sources, we have several interesting maps. Figure 35 at p. 142 represents India according to an old Persian map of the earth. A map, after that of Ibn

1. Figure 9 at p. 34.
2. *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. VIII, p. 269.
3. *Cosmographie et Cartographie*, Paris, 1852, Vol. I, p. 364.
4. *Op. cit.*, p. 12.

Haukal (975 A.D.), is given in Figure 36 at p. 147 and another from Edrisi (1154 A.D.) in Figure 37 at p. 156.

With reference to the knowledge of map-making among the people of India, especially the Dravidians of the South, the following remarks in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (14th ed., Vol. XIV, pp. 840-41) are also interesting: "The charts in use by the medieval navigators of the Indian Ocean—Arabs, Persians or Drāviḍas—were equal in value, if not superior, to the charts of the Mediterranean. Marco Polo (thirteenth century) mentions such charts; Vasco da Gama (1498) found them in the hands of his Indian pilot, and their nature is fully explained in the *Mohit* or 'the Encyclopaedia of the Sea,' compiled from ancient sources by the Turkish admiral, Sidi 'Ali Ben Hosein, in 1584. These charts are covered with a close network of lines intersecting each other at right angles. The horizontal lines are parallels, depending upon the altitude of the Pole Star, the Calves of the Little Bear and the Barrow of the Great Bear above the horizon. This altitude was expressed in *isbas* or inches, each equivalent to $1^\circ 42' 50''$. Each *isba* was divided into *zams* or eighths. The intervals between two parallels thus only amounted to $12' 51''$. These intervals were mistaken by the Portuguese occasionally for degrees, which accounts for Malacca, which is in Latitude $2' 13''$ N., being placed in Cantino's chart (1502) in latitude $14'$ S. It may have been a map of this kind which accounts for Ptolemy's moderate exaggerations (in the second century A.D.) of the size of Taprobane (Ceylon). The first meridian, separating a leeward from a windward region, passed through Ras Kumhari (Comorin) and was thus nearly identical with the first meridian of the Indian astronomer, which passed through the sacred city of Ujjain (Ozéné of Ptolemy) or the meridian of Azīn of the Arabs. Additional meridians were drawn at intervals of *zams*, supposed to be equal to three hour's sail."

The suggestion seems to be that the Indians had the knowledge of making maps as early as the beginning of the Christian era and that the Arabs and Greeks were indebted to them for the charts of the Indian Ocean together with the islands in and the lands bordering on it.

APPENDIX I

KANDHĀRAPURA

The Sanskrit name Kṛṣṇa was often modified in South India as Kandara, Kandāra, Kandhara, Kandhāra, Kanhara, Kanhāra, Kannara and Kannāra.[1] Sometimes the same name is found in the joint form Kṛṣṇa-Kandhara or Kṛṣṇa-Kandhāra.[2] The Prakrit name Kannara was also sometimes re-Sanskritised as Karṇa.[3] The earliest use of such a Prakrit form of the name is to be found in that of Kandara who was the founder of the Ānanda dynasty of Kandarapura in the Guntur District of Andhra Pradesh and flourished in the fourth century A.D.[4]

The founder of the Raṭṭa dynasty of Saundatti in the Belgaum District is stated to have been raised to the position of a feudatory chieftain by a king named Kṛṣṇa who has been identified with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor Kṛṣṇa III (939-67 A.D.).[5] An inscription of 1218 A. D. represents the said Raṭṭas as the descendants of the same Kṛṣṇa, called Kṛṣṇa-Kandhāra, while another record of 1209 A.D. (?) from Haṇṇikeri near Sampgaon in the Belgaum District of Mysore mentions the same king as Kṛṣṇa-Kandhara and represents him as *Kandhāra-pura-var-ādhīśvara*, 'the supreme lord of Kandhārpura, the best of the cities'.[6]

The Imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭas had their capital at Mānyakheṭa, modern Mālkheḍ in the Gulbarga District of the former Hyderabad State, now in Mysore. But they did not represent themselves as the lord of 'Mānyakheṭa, the best of cities.' Like the Raṭṭas of Saundatti, the Imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭas, were sometimes repre-

1. Cf. *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part ii, pp. 244, 334, 410 (note 1), 468, 526, etc.; *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. III, Ml. 19; Vol. VII, Sk. 197 (Intr., p. 27) and 198 (Intr., p. 36); Hl. 17; Vol. VIII, Sa. 119; Vol, X, Bg. 43; Vol. XI. Dg. 13. A similar form of the name was Kāhnura (cf. Ray, *DHNI*, pp. 340, 565).

2. *Bomb. Gaz.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 419, 508, 556; *JBBRAS*, Vol. X, p. 241.

3. Altekar, *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their Times*, p. 12; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 314, note 4.

4. Sircar, *The Successors of the Sātavāhanas in the Lower Deccan*, pp. 55ff.

5. Cf. *Bomb. Gaz.*, *op. cit.*, pp.550, 556; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 216ff. (Nos. 3-4); *JBBRAS*, Vol. X, pp. 240 ff.

6. *Bomb. Gaz.*, *loc. cit.*

sented as the lords of the city of Lattalūra, Lattalūr or Lattanūr, which was claimed to have been the original home of the family and has been indentified with modern Lātūr in the Osmanabad District of the former Hyderabad State.[1] The representation of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III, who had his capital at Mānyakheṭa,[2] as the lord of Kandhārapura in the Haṇṇikeri inscription, without reference either to his capital or to the orginal home of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family, is interesting to note. It appears that Kṛṣṇa III had a secondary capital at Kandhārapura, built by and named after himself or either of his two predecessors who bore the same name.

Fleet was not inclined to attach any importance to the mention of Kṛṣṇa III in the said epigraph as the lord of Kandhārapura. He draws our attention to the fact that it is an isolated instance and says, "I know of no place that can be identified with an ancient Kandhārapura or Kṛṣṇapura. The name may possibly have been invented from an imaginary Kṛṣṇapura derived from some passage similar to that in which the Eastern Cālukya king Guṇaka-Vijayāditya III is said to have effected the burning of the city of Kṛṣṇa II (*Kṛṣṇa-pura-dahana*; see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 102, note 26)." But this attitude appears to be rather hypercritical. Since the Raṭṭas of Saundatti, who were used to represent themselves as the lords of the city of Lattalūra, could have represented their ancestor as *Mānyakheṭa-pura-var-ādhīśvara* if they wanted to avoid *Lattalūra-pura-var-ādhīśvara*, it is difficult to understand why they should have preferred to bring in the name of an imaginary city. In our opinion, the specific mention of Kṛṣṇa III as the lord of Kandhārapura scarcely raises any reasonable doubt about the existence of a city called Kandhārapura apparently built by and named after a Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch named Kṛṣṇa.

Fleet's attitude seems to have been influenced by the fact that he had no knowledge of the existence of a city called Kan-

1. *Bomb. Gaz., op. cit.*, pp. 384, 387; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII .p. 220.
2. *Bomb. Gaz., op. cit.*, p. 419.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 384, note 4.

dhāra which could be ascribed to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa period. It therefore appears that he would have modified his opinion on the subject if he had any knowledge of the town of Kandhār (also spelt Qandhār and Kandahār), the headquarters of the Qandharsharif Taluk of the Nander District of the former Hyderabad State, now in Bombay, and of the remains therein of numerous sculptures ascribable to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa age. This place, which appears to be none other than the city of Kandhāra of the Haṇṇikeri inscription, lies about twentyfive miles to the south of Nāndeḍ and a hundred miles to the north of Mālkheḍ.

Sometime ago we came across a fragmentary Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscription engraved on a broken pillar lying in the locality called Bahādurpur in the suburbs of the town of Kandhār. The inscription is written in the North Indian alphabet of about the tenth century A.D. The extant parts of the record contain only the beginning of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa genealogy down to Kṛṣṇa I (756-75 A.D.) and mention a number of shrines that existed at the place when the inscription was set up about the tenth century, probably during the reign of Kṛṣṇa III. It is interesting to note that two of the deities mentioned in the inscription are Kālapriya and Kṛṣṇeśvara while the same two gods are also mentioned in the Karhad plates of Kṛṣṇa III.[1]

One of the deities worshipped at Kandhār about the tenth century A. D. bore the name Gojjiga-Somanātha. Since Gojjiga is a well-known name of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda IV (929-33 A.D.), the deity may have been named after that monarch. If such was the case, the city of Kandhāra seems to have existed before the days of Kṛṣṇa III. But whether Kṛṣṇapura burnt by Guṇaka-Vijayāditya III is same as this Kandhārapura is difficult to say without further evidence.

1. *Ep. Ind.*, Vo IV, p. 281.

APPENDIX II

KĀKANDĪNAGARĪ

A place called Kakandī or Kākandīnagarī is famous in both the Jain and Buddhist traditions. The Jains regarded the locality as the birth place of the Tīrthaṅkara Suvidhinātha,[1] while the Buddhists regarded it as the home of an ancient sage named Kākanda.[2] But this place does not appear to have so far been satisfactorily identified.

B. C. Bhattacharya suggested its indentification with the city of Kiṣkindhā celebrated in the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.[3] But the equation of *Kākandī* and *Kiṣkindhā* appears to be philologically unsound. Moreover, Kiṣkindhā in the neighbourhood of Pampā (modern Hampi in the Bellary District of Mysore State) is far away from the sphere of activities of the early Buddhists and Jains. B. C. Law, who has ignored Bhattacharya's suggestion, regards the place as unidentifiable in the present state of our knowledge.[4] But there is epigraphical evidence to prove that Kākandī, the traditional birth place of Suvidhinātha, was regarded in the medieval period as identical with a place now called Kākan which lies within the jurisdiction of the Sekandra Police Station in the Jamui Sub-Division of the Monghyr District of Bihar.

About the beginning of the year 1951, I copied three epigraphs in the Jain temple at Kākan.[5] The earliest of the three records is engraved on the pedestal of an image of Pārśvanātha and is dated in V. S. 1504 Phālguna-sudi 9 (February, 1448 A.D.) while the latest is incised on the back of an *āyāgapaṭa* and is dated in V. S. 1933 (1876-77 A.D.). The third inscrip-

1. Cf. B. C. Bhattacharya, *The Jaina Iconography*, pp. 64-65.
2. G. P. Malasekera, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, Vol. I, p. 558.
3. *Loc. cit.*
4. *Historical Geography of Ancient India, s.v.*
5. See *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1950-51, Nos. B 2-4.

tion, dated V. S. 1822 Vaiśākha-sudi 6 (April 1765 A.D.), is engraved around two foot-marks fixed in front of the image of Pārśvanātha and records the installation of the said foot-marks. It clearly states that they represent the foot-marks of the Tīrthaṅkara Suvidhinātha and that they were installed at Kākandī or Kākandīnagarī which was a holy place and was the birth place of the said Tīrthaṅkara. Some repairs are also stated to have been carried out apparently in the temple wherein the foot-marks were installed and one of the inscriptions seems to point to the existence of the temple before the middle of the fifteenth century A.D. Thus the tradition that modern Kākan, where the inscription has been found, is the same as Kākandī or Kākandīnagarī, regarded by the Jains as the birth place of the Tīrthaṅkara Suvidhinātha, can be referred atleast to the late medieval period.

The text of the inscription runs as follows:

ॐ नमः ॥ संवत (संवत्) १८२२ वर्षे वैशाष (ख) मासे शुक्लपक्षे षष्ठीतिथौ श्रीसुविधिनाथजिनवरव (च) रणकमले शुभे स्थापिते ॥ श्रीकाकंदीनगरीजन्म-कल्याणकस्थाने श्रीसंघेन ॥ जीर्णोद्धारं (च*) करापितं (कारितम्) ॥ १ चिरं नंदतु तीर्थोयं काकंदीनामको वरः (॥*)

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

Page 1, footnote 1, line 3.—Read: *vṛnda*
" " footnote 2, line 3.—Read: *°m=Aṁgendra-patnī*
" " footnote 2, line 4.—Read: *vairi-priyāṇāṁ*
" 2, line 19.—*Read*: Rājendracoḷa.
" 4, line 4.—*Read:* the minister of
" " line 25.—*Read:* of whose chariot
" 5, footnote 2, line 1.—Read: *°samudr-āntara°*
" " " " line 2.—Read: *Chakravarti°*
" " " 4, line 1.—Read: *°saro-vadhi*
" " " " line 2.—Read: *Chakravarti°*
" 7, line 10.—*Read*: Vaṅkṣu
" 10, footnote 1, line 1.—Read: *kīrti-rāśe°*
" " " " line 3.—Read: *bhā-bhāsu°*
" " footnote 2, line 3.—Read: *kīrtir=bhuje*
" " " " line 4.—Read: *yena samare*
" 11, footnote 1, line 5.—Read: *kula-bhavanāc=ca*
" 12, line 7.—*Read*: the achievements
" " line 14.—*Read*: Bhāratavarṣa
" 14, line 10.—*Read*: Cāhamāna dynasty
" " line 27.—*Read*: Arabian
" 15, line 4.—Read: *madhyavarti°*
" " line 16.—Read: *c.* 1000
" 16, line 8.—Read: *Pañca*
" 17, footnote 1.—Add: *Agn—Agni Purāṇa*; *Sv—Śiva Purāṇa*; *Vsn—Viṣṇu Purāṇa*
" 19, line 18.—*Read*: exhibit
" 20, line 1.—*Read*: Al-Bīrunī
" " line 8.—*Read*: improvement
" 23 footnote 2.—*Add*: Mts (*a*)—*Sahyasy=ānantare c=aite*
" " footnote 3.—*Add*: *Vy* (*a*) reads after the above: *Tatra Govardhano nāma Surarājena nirmitaḥ* | *Rāma-priy-ārthaṁ svargo=yaṁ vṛkṣā oṣadhayas=tathā* || *Bhāradvājena muninā tat-priy-*

ārthe=vatāritāḥ । *antaḥpura-jan-oddeśas=tena jajñe manoramaḥ* ॥ Bmd has practically the same reading and Mts only slight variation. This tradition regarding the creation of a pleasure garden by Bharadvāja for Rāma's wife seems to refer to the stay of Dāśarathi Rāma and his wife Sītā in the Nasik region and to support the location of Janasthāna and Pañcavaṭī in the same area. The modified text of Mk(*a*) has a half verse in place of the said two stanzas, which speaks of Govardhana as the city of Bhārgava (i.e. Paraśurāma) apparently through confusion.

Page 27, footnote 5, lines 9-10.—*Read*: capital near the mouth of the Bhāgīrathī, see below, pp. 172, ff.
„ „ footnote 6, line 1.—Read: *Antargira-Bahirgirāḥ*
„ „ „ „ lint 2.—Read: *Antargiri-Bahirgirī*
„ 29, footnote 1, line 9.—*Read*: part iii
„ 31, footnote 1, line 3.—Read: *Nairṇikāḥ*
„ „ footnote 7, line 1.—Read: *Durgāḥ*
„ 37, footnote 7.—*Add*: Kāmarūpa (also called Prāgjyotiṣa) =Assam
„ 39, footnote 1, line 7.—Read: *b--°sā*
„ 40, footnote 1, line 4.—*Read*: Candrabhāgā
„ 44, line 12.—*Read*: Mūlasthāna
„ 50, footnote 1, line 3.—Read: *Nirvindhyā*
„ 51, footnote 1, line 2.—Read: *Toyā c=aiva*
„ 52, footnote, line 3.—*Read*: modern Varṇā (running between the Satara and Kolhapur Districts)
„ „ footnote 3, line 1.—Read: *d* (v.l.)
„ „ footnote 5, line 6.—*Read*: Tirunelveli
„ 61, footnote 2, line 1.—Read: Vy *cd—Naṅganān*
„ 63, footnote 2, line 6.—*Read*: Khakkas of Kashmir
„ 65, line 3.—Read: *maṇḍale*
„ 67, footnote 5, line 1.—*Read*: Mts *d—Pūrṇān*

Page 68, lines 13-14.—*Add footnote* : Volumes II (Tārā-khaṇḍa) and III (Sundarī-khaṇḍa) have since been published respectively in 1941 and 1947. For the *Ṣaṭpañcāśaddeśa-vibhāga*, see Vol. III, pp. 66. ff.

" ", line 1.—*Read*: Harikṛṣṇa

" " line 14.—Read: *Candragarbhavaipulya*

" 71, footnote 1, line 7.—*Read*: Madra-deśa

" 72, line 2.—Read: *śaddeśavibhāga*

" " line 29.—*Read*: or goddess in

" " line 30.—*Read:* the shrine[6]

" 74, line 13.—Read: *parikīrtitaḥ*

" " footnote 15, line 1.—*Omit*: wrong

" 75, line 9.—Read : *dhyān-ādhyayana*

" " footnote 10.—*Read* : or °*ntakaṁ*

" 100, line 21.—*Read*: in a separate

" 101, line 31.—*Read*: inscriptions and coins

" 103, line 27.—*Read*: Śilahaṭṭa

" 104, line 12.—*Read*: or Cochbihar

" 105, line 1.—*Read*: is apparently due

" 106, line 2.—*Read*: Śaurasena

" 116, line 15.—*Raad*: that century

" " line 31.—*Add* : The editors of the *Lekhapaddhati* (G.O. S.), p. 98, identify Barbara or Varvara with Bābriāvāḍ in Kathiawar.

" 118, footnote 3, line 1.—Read: *Bhāratīya Prācīnalipimālā*

" 121, line 21.— Read: *circa* 1000-55

" 125, lines 10-11.—*Read*: interesting

" 127, footnote 2.—*Read*: 2. Raychaudhuri

" 128, footnote 3, line 10.—*Read*: from the mouth of the Karnaphuli

" 130, footnote 1, line 2.— *Read*: like a

" " footnote 2, line 17.—*Omit* : as *dāṅgā*

" 137, line 6.—Read : *Anaṅkabhīma*

" " line 24.—*Read*: Trilokasundarī

" 143, footnote 2.—*Add*: The *Mahābhārata* also mentions them.

Page 144, line 26.—*Read*: to indicate also the
„ 149, footnote 1, line 6.—Read : *Gaṇeśa*
„ „ line 22.—*Read* : Vibhurāja.
„ 155, line 20.—*Read*: identification
„ 156, line 11.—*Omit*: It will be clear
„ „ line 14.—*Add at the beginning*: It will be clear
„ 157, line 5.—*Read* : Tāmralipta
„ 159, line 20.—*Read*: Ratnagiri
„ „ line 28.—*Read*: modern Khiching
„ 163, footnote 2, line 3.—Read: *Krauñcas=tathā*
„ „ „ „ line 4.—Read: *samudrais=tu*
„ „ last line.—*Add* :—The *Harṣacarita* (Parab, p. 185) refers to *aṣṭādaśa-dvīpā medinī*.
„ 164, last line.—*Read*: Jagannātha-purī
„ 168, footnote 1, line 2.—*Read* : spelt without
„ „ „ „ line 3.—*Read*: the difficulty
„ „ „ „ line 4.—*Read* : same form
„ 170, line 3.—*Read* : show that
„ 172, footnote 2, line 2.—*Read*: Dākṣiṇātya
„ 173, line 20.—*Read* : may have belonged
„ 174, line 33.—*Read* : of a country
„ 173, 175, 177, 179, 181, 183, head line.—*Read* : Gaṅgā
„ 178, lines 7, 11, 14.—Read : *tīrtha*
„ „ footnote 5, line 4.—Read : *saṁskāra*
„ 179, line 13.—Read : *tīrtha*
„ 180, last line.—*vākyāvalī*
„ 184, footnote 2.—*Add*: Cf. *J. R. A. S. B.*, Letters, Vol. V, 1939, pp. 407 ff.
„ 187, line 5.— *Read* : therefore lay outside.
„ 189, line 15.—Read: *Malay-ādhipati*
„ 192, line 31.—Read : *Māhiṣmatī*
„ 193, last two lines.—*Add note*: Another *viṣaya* in Tīrabhukti was Hodreya (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIX, p. 50).
„ 194, line 22.—*Read* : ploughshare
„ 195, footnote 1, line 5.—*Read* Bihar and Bengal
„ „ „ „ line 6.—*Read*: Luckeeserai. In

I

Page 200, footnote 4, last line.—Read: *tri-lakṣīṁ dadau*
,, 201, footnote 1.—Read: *J. B. B. R. A. S.*
,, 205, line 11.—*Read*: area than
,, ,, footnote 2.—*Add.*—On the whole question, see Fleet in *J.R.A.S.*, 1912, pp. 707 ff. and V. S. Agrawala in *Jadunath Sārkar Com. Vol.*, II, pp. 14 ff. Our original interpretation of *grāma* as a unit of revenue assessment (elaborated by Agrawala as 'one plough measure of land assessed at 1 silver Kārṣāpaṇa') cannot be true in respect of many of the cases specified. But the number of such revenue units or income in coins may of course have been confused with that of the villages of a territory in the cases quoting very big numbers.
,, 206, last line.—*Read*: Gomardana
,, 208, line 14.—*Read*: Gonarda always
,, 213, lines 12-13.—Read: *Koṁkaṇ-Ābhīrāḥ Ākara-Veṇ-Ava-(na)rtaka*
,, ,, last line.—*Read*: quoted in
,, ,, footnote 1, line 3.—Read: *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*
,, 215, line 3.—*Read*: Patiṭṭhān
,, 217, line 7.—*Read*: 477-94 A.D.
,, ,, line 8.—*Read*: Puṇḍravardhana
, ,, line 11.—Read: *nagaraśreṣṭhin*
,, 218, last line.—*Read*: the *Mahābhārata*
,, 228, line 3.—*Read*: pilgrimage
,, 230, line 1.—Read: *Aṅguttaranikāya*
,, 233, line 1.—Read: the former Patiala
,, 234, line 27.—Read: *Śāhi*
,, 238, line 29.—Read: *ḍāmar-āgryasya*
,, 239. line.—*Read* : (East Pakistan)[9]
,, 2.—*Add* : Recently my attention has been drawn to some other places of the same name; *e.g.* Dhakka on the Kabul near the eastern border of Afghanis-

tan; Dhaka in P. S. Tilhar, Shahjahanpur Dist., U. P.; Dhaka on the northern border of the Champaran Dist., Bihar; and Jal-Dhaka in the Nilphamari Sub-Division of the Rangpur Dist., East Bengal. See *Journ. As. Soc. Pak.*, Vol. III, pp. 199 ff.

Page 241, line 10.—Read: *Yāyāvarīyaḥ*

" " footnote 3, line 2.—*Read*: Baṅgabāsī

" 245, line 7.—*Read* : Allāhābād

INDEX

A

Abdul Qādir, *ruler of Kālpī*, 244
Aberia, *Greek form of* Ābhīra, *country*, 91
Abhāpurī, *locality*, 244-45
Abhidhānacintāmaṇi, *work*, 17, 124-25, 242 note
Abhimanyu, *king of Kashmir*, 234
Abhimanyu, *Rāṣṭrakūṭa king*, 152
Abhinava-Vārāṇasī-kaṭaka, *same as* Cuttack, 147
Abhinava-Yayātinagara, *identified with* Jājpur, 146-47
Abhinava-Yayātinagara-Viṣṇu, *epithet of Gaṅga* Anaṅgabhīma III, 146
Ābhīra, *people* and *country*, 21 note, 23 and note, 30 note, 31 note, 37 and note, 62 and note, 76, 91, 213
Abhīra, *mistake for* Ābhīra, 21 note
Abhra, *people*, 27 note
Ābika, *people*, 28 note
Abiravān, *locality*, 23 note
Ablur, *locality*, 124
Abul Fazal, *author*, 96, 124, 132, 237-38
Acalā, *river*, 53 note
Acesines, *Greek form of* Asiknī, *river*, 40 note
Achaemenes, *pogenitor of the* Achaemenidae, 138, 173
Achaemenidae, *descendants of* Achaemenes, 138, 173
Achaemenians, *same as* Achaemenidae, 173
Adarśana, *same as* Vinaśana, *locality*, 172 note
Ād-Badrī, *locality*, 40 note
Adeisathron, *mountain range*, 52 note
Āḍhakya, *people*, 30 note
Ādh-Gauṛ, a *section of the Gauḍa-Brāhmaṇas*, 121 note
Adhiṣṭhāna, 'chief city', 190, 195-96
Adhiṣṭhān-ādhikaraṇa, 'administrative office of the chief city', 217
Ādhrāraka, *people*, 27 note
Adi-Bhañja, *dynasty*, 144 note
Ādi Purāṇa, *work*, 178 note
Ādityas, *deities*, 196
Adriha, *people*, 24 note
Adrijā, *river*, 47 note
ādya, 'original', 223
Afghan, *people*, 26 note
Afghanistan, *country*, 3, 23 note, 26 note, 94, 96, 184, 231, 261
Africa, *country*, 164
Agalassoi, *people*, 25 note
Agastya-pada, *holy spot*, 219
Agni Purāṇa, *work*, 42 note, 55 and note, 56 note, 163 note, 188, 224, 227
Agnisaraḥ, *holy spot*, 220
Agnisaraḥ-kuṇḍa, *holy pool*, 220
Ahicchatra, *city*, 21 note, 92
Ahirwas, *fort*, 91
Ahmadabad District, 158
Ahopāp, *locality*, 41 note
Aihole inscription, 200
'*Ain-i-Akbarī*, *work*, 96, 97 note, 167, 237, 249
Airāka, *same as* Iraq, *country*, 71, 77, 96
Airāvata, *mythical elephant*, 207
Airāvatī, *same as* Irāvatī, *river*, 41 note, 186
Ajaṇṭā, *locality*, 151, 154
Ajapatha, *pass* or *locality*, 66 note
Ajay, *river*, 176
Ajmer, *locality*, 14, 161, 198
Ākara, *same as* Daśārṇa, *country*, 14, 34 note, 91, 213-15
Akbar, *Mughal emperor*, 133 and note, 237
Akbarnagar, *locality*, 133
Akbarnāmah, *work*, 238
Akola District, 151, 153
Akoṭā, *locality*, 198
Akṛṣṇa, *people*, 38 note
Akṣaya-vaṭa, *holy tree*, 226
Akūṇa, *people*, 38 note
Alaka, *people*, 31 note
Alaka, *mistake for* Mūlaka, *country*, 214
Aland, *locality*, 200
Alande-1000, *district*, 199
Alande-sāsira, *same as* Alande-1000, *district*, 200
Alasa, *people*, 26 note
'Alāuddīn Islām Khān, *Muslim ruler*, 237
Al-Bīrūnī, *author*, 17, 19-20, 31 note, 58 note, 62 note, 63 note, 65 note, 118, 162-63, 179, 232-34, 244-45
Alexander, *Greek emperor*, 94, 231
Alibhadra, *people*, 26 note
Ālika, Alaka, *people*, 31 and note
Al-Kandahār, *Arabic form of* Gandhāra, *country*, 44, 232
Allahabad, *city*, 2, 33 note, 40 note,

47 note, 172-73, 212 note
Allahabad District, 22 note, 63 note
Allahabad pillar inscription, 2, 212 note
Al-Mansūra, *locality*, 44
Almora, *locality*, 42 note
Ālūpa, Ālupa, *people*, 31 and note
Alwar, *district*, 93, 105, 162-63, 203
Amala, Aṁdhala, *possibly a mistake for* Andhra, *country*, 201
Amala-viṣaya, Mala-viṣaya, *country*, 202
Amara, *author*, 210 and note
Amarkantak, *hill range*, 34 note, 47 note
Amarakanṭaka, *same as* Amarkantak, 82, 109
Amarapura, *same as* Amarāvatī, *city*, 189
Amaraśaṅkara, *god* Śiva *at Gaṅgāsāgara*, 181 and note
Ambala District, 24 note, 40 note
Ambaṣṭha, *people*, 38 and note
Ambikā, *goddess*, 93
Aṁdhala, Amala, *probably a mistake for* Andhra, *country*, 201
Amgaon, *locality*, 153, 243
Āmīkaṭa, *people*, 31 note
Amoghavarṣa, *Rāṣṭrakūṭa king*, 124 note
Amraoti District, 153
'Amr ibn Layth, *Muslim ruler*, 234
Amṛta, *god* 93
Amṛtadeva, *person*, 218, 223
Amu Darya, *same as* Oxus, *river*, 42 note, 59 note, 163
Amūrtarayas, *king*, 226
Anaṅgabhīma III, *Gaṅga king*, 146-47
Anaṅkabhīma, Aniyaṅkabhīma, *same as* Anaṅgabhīma III, *Gaṅga king*, 137
Anantapur District, 92, 192
Ananta, Ananta-śaila, *hill*, 74, 86
Anantaśayana, Anantasena, *same as* Anantapura, *identified with* Trivandrum, 86
Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga, *Eastern Gaṅga king*, 84, 136, 146-47
Ānarta, Ānartaka, *people* and *country*, 33 and note, 213, 215, 261
Andhaka, *a branch of the Yādavas*, 22 and note
Andha-paramaprā-nyāya, 150
Andhra, *country*, 1 and note, 2, 18-20, 38 note, 75, 87-88, 119, 135, 150-51, 201
Andhra, *people*, 29 note, 31 and note
Andhra, *river*, 57 note
Andhrādhipati, *epithet*, 135
Andhrāpatha,, *country*, 31 note, 192
Andhra Pradesh, 31 note, 54 note, 88, 108, 134-36 142, 154, 204 note, 227
Andhrava, *people*, 27 note
Andhravāka, *people*, 27 note
Andhrapura, *city*, 129
Āndhrī script, 119
Aṅga, *country*, 1 and note 2, 7, 27 and note, 71 and note, 74, 83, 178
Aṅga, *people* and *country*, 21 note, 27 and note, 32 note, 63 and note, 135, 143, 178 note
Aṅkgalaukika, *people*, 25 and note
Aṅga-lipi, *script*, 119
Aṅgaloka, Aṅgalokya, *country* and *people*, 25 note, 60 and note
ṅgeya, *people*, 27 note, 28 and note
Aṅguttaranikāya, *work*, 230 and note
Ani, *people*, 213
Anibhadra, *people*, 26 and note
Ānīkaṭa, *people*, 31 note
Animadra, *people*, 26 note
Aniyaṅkabhīma, *same as* Anaṅgabhīma, *i.e.* An ṅgabhīma III, *Eastern Gaṅga king*, 137
Añjalipriya, *Yakṣa*, 206
Aṅkoṭṭaka, *same as* Akoṭā, *locality*, 198
Aṅkoṭṭaka-chaturaśīti, Aṅkoṭṭaka-84, *district*, 198-199
Annaja, *people*, 35 note
Anna-malai, Anna-malaya, *hill*, 189
Antaḥśilā, *river*, 51 and note
Antaḥśīrā, *river*, 51 note
Antara-Narmada, *people*, 32 note
Antargiri, *people* or *country*, 27 and note
Antarvedī, *country*, 241
Antebole, *Greek name of a mouth of the Ganges*, 174
Antialkidas, *Greek king*, 208
Anupa, *people*, 35 note
Anūpa, *country* and *people*, 35 and note, 214-15
Apabhraṁśa, *language*, 119, 131
Apaga, *people*, 26 note
Āpagā, *river from the Himalayas running through the Punjab*, 39 note, 185
Āpagā, *river in South India*, 52 note
Apara-Gauḍ-ādi-lipi, *script*, 119
Aparagoyāna, *Western Mahādvīpa*, 9 note
Aparākṣara, *people*, 32 note
Apara-Mālava, *same as* West Malwa, *district*, 106
Aparānta, *people* or *country*, 23 and note, 33 and note, 37 and note, 73, 155, 172 note, 214-15
Aparīta, *people*, 23 note
Apatha, *people* and *locality*, 26 note, 36 note, 38 note, 65 note
Arab, *people*, 25 note, 127, 160-61, 163, 235, 250
Arabian Sea, 101, 108, 122, 183-84

Arabic script, 160
Arabic language, 131 note
Arachosia, *territory*, 231
Āraka, *people*, 31 note
Arakan, *territory*, 127 note
Arakanese pirates, 237
Āraṇya, *people*, 30 note
Āraṭṭa, *people* and *country*, 32 note, 178, 186-87
Aravelly range, 46 note
Arvīḍu, *dynasty*, 69
Arbuda, *country* and *people*, 33 and note, 37 and note
Arcot District, 90, 192 note
Ardhanāgarī, *script*, 119
Arirāja-danuja-mādhava, *title*, 170
Arjuna, *Haihaya king*, 35 note
Ariṣṭapura, *locality*, 111
Arkaliṅga, *people*, 22 note
Aror, *city*, 44
Arrian, *author*, 6
'Arsah-i-Bangāla, *district*, 170
Arthapa, *people*, 22 note
Arthaśāstra, *work*, 5, 115
Arun, *river*, 222
Arun-Kośī, *river*, 221
Arūpa, *people*, 35 note
Arvuda, *same as* Arbuda, *people* or *territory*, 22 note
Ārya, *people*, 64 and note
Āryagālava, *people*, 28 note
Ārya-Mahāmeghavāhana, *dynasty*, 134
Aryan India, 210
Aryanism, 172 note
Āryāvarta, *country*, 14-15, 78, 99, 120-22, 172 note, 173 note, 178, 213
Asaka, Assaka, *same as* Aśmaka, *country*, 214-15
Asaṁkhyāta, *mistake for* Śāryāta, *a clan of the Haihayas*, 35 note
Asia, Central, 24 note
Asia Minor, 164
Asia, Western, 96, 107
Asika, *same as* Ṛṣika, *country*, 214
Asiknī, *Vedic name for the* Chenab, *river*, 40 note, 57 note
Asinīla, *people*, 32 note
Aśmaka, Asmaka, *people* and *country*, 30 and note, 31 note, 150, 153-55, 158-59, 215-16
Aśoka, *Maurya emperor*, 3 and note, 84, 93, 134, 178, 228-29
Assaka, *same as* Aśmaka, *country*, 206
Assam State, 3, 7, 27 note, 28 note, 87, 96, 102-04, 109, 118, 173, 236
Assamese language, 119-20
Asta, *mythical mountain*, 184
Aṣṭādhyāyī, *work*, 111
Aśva, *people* and *country*, 215
Aśvaghoṣa, *author*, 227
Aśvajīvin, *people* and *country*, 213
Aśvakūṭa, *people*, 22 note
Aśvamedha, *sacrifice*, 2, 8, 226
Aśvamukha, *people* and *country*, 203
Aśvanadī, *same as* Kuntī, *river*, 46 note
Aśvapati, *title*, 81, 107-08
Aśvapati-Gajapati-Narapati-rāja-tray-ādhipati, *title*, 107
Aśvarathanadī, *same as* Kuntī, *river*, 46 note
Āṭavika, *people* and *country*, 213
Āṭavya, *people*, 30 and note
Atharva, *people*, 22 note
Atharvaveda, *work*, 229
Athenian, *people*, 174
Athens, *city*, 174
Atilāṅgala-deśa, *mistake for* Jāṅgala-deśa, *country*, 202
Atisindhu, *country*, 203
Atlantic coast, 162
Ātreya, *people*, 26 note
Atri, *people*, 26 note
Atrismṛti, *work*, 226 note
Attika, *territory*, 174
Attock, *locality*, 24 note, 43 note, 44, 232
Audra, *same as* Orissa, 134, 142-43
Audrīya-viṣaya, *same as* Orissa, 134
Aundra, *people*, 34 note
Aupadha, *people*, 26 and note
Aurangabad District, 30 note, 31 note, 104, 154-55, 159, 215
Aurangzīb, *Mughal emperor*, 69, 126
Aurasa, *people*, 26 and note, 61 and note
Aurṇavābha, *author*, 229
Auṣadha, *people*, 26 note
Āvagāna, *same as* Afghan, *people*, 26 and note
Āvanta, *same as* Avanti, *people*, 22 and note
Āvantaka, *same as* Avanti, *country*, 71
Avanti, *same as* Ujjayinī, *city*, 14, 206
Avanti, *a clan of the Haihayas*, *people*, 35 note
Avanti, Avantī, *country*, 75-76, 79, 90-92, 106, 155, 214-15
Avanti, *same as* Āvanta, *people*, 22 note, 35 and note, 178 note
Avantī, *river*, 46 and note
Avantikā, *same as* Avanti, *city*, 224
Avantivarman, *king*, 238
Avantya, Avantī, *same as* Avanti, *country*, 71
Avantya, *people*, 33 note
Avarṇī, *river*, 46 note
Avaṭodā, *river*, 57 note
Avidheya, *Rāṣṭrakūṭa king*, 159
Ayanā, *river*, 53 note
Ayodhyā, *city*, 22 note, 40 note, 99, 212, 217-18, 224-25, 247
Azīn, *same as* Ujjain, *city*, 250

B

Bāblā *river*, 55 note
Bactria, *country*, 25 note
Badakhshan, *country*, 25 note
Badami, *same as* Vātāpi, *city*, 15, 156 note
Badarī, *locality*, 219
Badarikāśrama, *holy place*, 9, 184, 219
Badarīnārāyaṇa, *holy place*, 219
Badira, *family*, 191
Bāgmatī, *river*, 99
Bāghāurā, *locality*, 169
Bagdad, *city*, 162
Bāhīka, Vāhīka, *people*, 27 and note
Bahirgiri, *people* or *country*, 27 and note
Bāhlika, Bāhlīka, *same as* Bactria *or* Balkh, *wrongly identified with* Vāhīka (Punjab), *country*, 94, 184-85, 203
Bahmanābād, *city*, 202
Bahroj, *same as* Broach, *locality*, 45
Bahubhadra, *people*, 24 note
Bāhudā, Bahudā, *river*, 39 note, 41 and note, 43 note
Bahūdaka, *people*, 36 note, 67 note
Bāhudāsa, *wrong name of a river*, 43 note
Bāhuka, *people*, 27 note
Bāhya, *people*, 21 note
Bāhyā, *river*, 52 and note
Bāhyatodara, *people*, 25 note
Bāigrām, Vāyi-grāmaka, *village*, 218
Bairāṭ, *same as* Virāṭanagara, *locality*, 105
Bairāṭṭā, *locality*, 93
Baji Rao I, *Peshwā*, 69, 87
Bāklā-Candradvīp, *district*, 132
Bāla-Bhārata, *work*, 32 note
Bālākadeśa, *country*, 201
Balakāriṇī, *river*, 54 note
Ba-lań 'joms, 'bull-compress', 207
Bāla-Rāmāyaṇa, *work*, 241
Balasore, *town* and *district*, 141-43, 145-46, 176
Balātkāra, *Kaliṅga prince*, 137
Balavāhinī, *river*, 49 note
Balban, *Sulṭān of Delhi*, 121 note
Balchappar, *locality*, 40 note
Bālhīka, *same as* Bāhlīka *or* Balkh, *country*, 10, 13
Balkh, *district*, 10, 23 note, 44, 93-94, 184
Baluchistan, *country*, 23 note, 95
Balurghat, *district*, 217
Bāluvāhinī, *river*, 48 and note
Bāṇa, *author*, 9, 14, 91, 113, 151 note
Banāras, *city* and *district*, 22 note, 41 note, 99, 101-02, 119, 156, 173, 179
Banās, *same as* Parṇāśā, *river*, 45 note
Banavāsi, *locality*, 30 note, 153, 156-57
Banavāsi-12000, *district*, 199
Banda District, 22 note
Bang, *country*, 123 note, 124, 126, 165-70
Bangāl, Bangāla, *country*, 115, 123 note, 126, 127 note
Bāṅgālā, Bāṅglā, Bāṅlā, *Bengali name of* Bengal, 131 and note
Bangāla, *identified with* Akbarnagar, 133
Bangāla, *identified with* Gaur, 133
Bangāla, *mint town of Akbar*, 133 and note
Bangālah, *same as* Vaṅgāla, 131
Bāṅgālī, *same as* Bengali, 131
Bāṅgaṛh, *locality*, 104
Bāṅglā, *same as* Bāṅgālā, 131 note
Bāṅgroṛā, *locality*, 126
Bāṅlā, *same as* Bāṅgālā, 131 note
Barabati, *locality*, 147-48
Barābhūm, *district*, 114
Barah-chatra, *same as* Varāhakṣetra, *holy place*, 221-22
Barakhera, *locality*, 40 note
Barbaricum, *port*, 25 note, 106, 114
Bardhankoṭ, *locality*, 93
Bareilly District, 21 note, 92
Barhamsil, *same as* Brahmaśilā, *locality*, 244
Bārī, *city*, 45
Barīdish, *river*, 44
Barind, *same as* Varendra, *district*, 123 note, 170 note
Barkalūr, *same as* Kollūr, *locality*, 89
Barli inscription, 198
Barmhattar, *same as* Brahmottara, *locality*, 28 note
Baroda, *same as* Vaḍapadraka, *locality*, 198
Barthema, *Portuguese author*, 127
Baśārṇa, *people*, 34 note
Basim, *locality*, 151, 153
Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra, *work*, 172 note, 178
Baudrand, *French geographer*, 129
Bāvari, *sage*, 154, 206, 209, 214
Bay of Bengal, 97, 104, 108, 114, 122, 128, 132, 140, 175-77, 184, 188, 227
Bayānā, *locality*, 22 note, 162-63
Bazana, *identified with* Bayānā, *locality*, 162-63
Beas, *same as* Vipāśā, *river*, 25 note, 41 note, 185-86
Bejapour, *locality*, 222
Bellary District, 34 note, 157, 192
Belgaon, Belgaum, *town* and *district*, 90, 153, 155
Benares, *same as* Banāras or Vārāṇasī, *city*, 41 note

Bengal, 12-13, 16, 96, 104-05, 109-11, 113-14, 118, 121 note, 123, 126, 129-31, 137, 148, 156, 165-66, 170, 172, 174, 179, 183, 192-93, 195, 218, 228, 237
Bengal, Eastern, 28, 115, 125, 129, and note, 130 and note, 132, 166-67, 237, 239
Bengal, Lower, 176
Bengal, Northern, 28 note, 42 note, 93, 95, 97, 114-15, 135
Bengal, North-Eastern, 102, 105
Bengal, South-Eastern, 27 note, 115, 122, 168
Bengal, Southern, 10, 132, 135, 140, 156, 174, 177
Bengal, South-Western, 29 note, 115, 136, 165, 170 note, 176, 180
Bengal, Western, 57 note, 98-99, 109-11, 114-15, 127 note, 135, 138, 140-41
Bengala, *derived form* Vaṅgāla, 123 and note
Bengala, *identified with* Chittagong, 130 note
Bengala, *city*, 123, 127-28, 129 and note, 130 and note, 133 and note
Bengali language, 113-15, 119-20, 123, 127 note, 131
Bengali script, 118 and note
Bengali literature, 129, 133
Bengali people, 130
Berabai, *same as* Verāpatha, *pass* or *locality*, 66 note
Berar, *district*, 30 note, 34 note, 90, 106, 151, 153-55
Berar style, 151
Berhampur, *locality*, 53 note
Bes, Besali, *same as* Vidiśā, *river*, 46 note
Besnagar, *same as* Vidiśā, *locality*, 34 note, 91, 151, 206, 208
Besulā, *same as* Vedasmṛiti, *river*, 45 note
Betwa, *river*, 45 note, 46 note, 47 note, 50 note, 151
Bhadguraka, *people*, 27 note
Bhadra, *country*, 203
Bhadrā, *river*, 89
Bhadraka, *people*, 24 note
Bhadrakālī, *goddess*, 75, 90-91
Bhadrakāra, *same as* Madrakāra, *a branch of the Śālvas*, 21 and note
Bhadravaka, *people*, 27 note
Bhāgabhadra, *king*, 208
Bhāgalpur, *town* and *district*, 83, 195
Bhāgavata Purāṇa, *work*, 3 note, 17, 57 note, 135 note, 227
Bhāgīrathī, *river*, 27 note; 58 and note, 84, 112-13, 136, 140, 165, 170 note, 174
Bhaikṣukī script, 119
Bhāillasvāmin great-12, *district*, 199 note, 204
Bhāillasvāmi-mahādvādaśaka-maṇḍala, *district*, 199 note
Bhaimarathī, *river*, 57 note
Bhairab, *river*, 112
Bhairava, *an aspect of Śiva*, 84, 93
Bhairavī, *an aspect of Śakti*, 84
Bhāllavin, *people*, 172 and note
Bhāmā, *same as* Satyabhāmā, 177
Bhamin, *people*, 32 note
Bhandara District, 153, 242
Bhānu III, *Eastern Gaṅga king*, 148
Bhānudatta, *Datta king*, 145
Bhānukaccha, *mistake for* Bhārukaccha, *people*, 33 note
Bharadvāja, *people*, 26 and note
Bharata, *author*, 117, 143
Bharata, *son of Ṛṣabha*, 3 note
Bharata, *son of Duṣyanta*, 2, 3 and note
Bhāratas, *descendents of Bharata*, 3
Bharatas, *Vedic people*, 3 note, 63 and note
Bhārata land, 156
Bhārata-kṣetra, *country*, 178
Bhārata-khaṇḍa, 201
Bhāratavarṣa, *country*, 3 and note, 5 and note, 6, 9, 12-13, 16, 59 note, 131 note, 138, 172, 248
Bhāratavarṣa, North-Western, 9
Bhāratī-prajā, *people*, 3 note, 5 note
Bhāratī-santati, *people*, 3 note
Bharatpur, *town* and *district*, 22 note, 93, 105, 162-63, 203
Bhārgava, *people*, 28 and note
Bhārukaccha, *people*, 33 and note
Bharukaccha, *same as Sanskrit* Bhṛgukaccha, 19, 33 note, 213
Bhāskaravarman, *Kāmarūpa king*, 116, 145, 173, 246
Bhāṭi, *district*, 127 note
Bhatinda, *locality*, 233
Bhaṭṭasvāmin, *author*, 155
Bhaṭṭinī Maṭṭuvā, *deity*, 195 note
Bhātul mountains 44
Bhauma-Kara, *dynasty*, 141-43, 145-48
Bhauṭṭa, Bhoṭa, *same as the* Tibetan people, 96
Bhavabhūti, *author*, 153, 242, 244, 247-48
Bhavadeva Nyāyālaṅkāra, *author*, 181
Bhavanipur, *locality*, 40 note
Bhaviṣya Purāṇa, *work*, 17-18, 84, 93, 98, 104-05, 113-14
Bhayānaka, *country*, 204
Bheraghat inscription, 32 note
Bhil, *people*, 161
Bhilsa, *locality*, 34 note, 91, 151, 199 note, 206

Bhilla, *people*, 62 note
Bhīma, *king*, 234
Bhīmā, *same as* Bhīmarathī, *river*, 51 note
Bhīmarāja, *Kaliṅga prince*, 137
Bhīmarakṣī, *river*, 51 note
Bhīmarathī, Bhīmarathā, *river*, 51 and note, 56 and note, 57 note
Bhināikī Caurāsī, *group of villages*, 198-99
Bhinmāl, *same as* Bhillamāla, *locality*, 161, 163
Bhir District, 158
Bhir Mound in Taxila, 231
Bhīrukaccha, *same as* Bhārukaccha, *people*, 33 note
Bhoganagara, *locality*, 206
Bhogavarddhana, *people* and *locality*, 30 and note, 31 note
Bhōja, *Paramāra king*, 11, 15, 121-22
Bhōja, *Pratihāra king*, 124 note
Bhōja, *a clan of the Haihayas, people*, 21 note, 34 and note, 35 and note
Bhojaprabandha, *work*, 121 note
Bhokardan Taluk, 31 note
Bhopal, *locality*, 46 note
Bhoṭa, *same as the* Tibetan people, 96
Bhotan, Bhoṭānta, *country*, 71, 77, 96
Brahmaloka, 'abode of Brahman', 179
Bhramara, *people*, 62 and note
Bhramarāmbikā, Bhramarāmbā, *goddess*, 87
Bhramaṭa, *people*, 62 note
Bhṛgukaccha, Bharukaccha, *locality* and *people*, 33 and note, 104, 106
Bhṛṅgārikā-catuḥṣaṣṭi, Bhṛṅgārikā-64, *district*, 199 note, 205
Bhubaneswar, *locality*, 34 note, 126 note, 134
Bhuj, *city*, 101
bhukti, 'province', 193, 217, 222
Bhuliṅga, Hulinga, *a branch of the Sālvas*, 21 note, 22 and note
bhūp-augh-ārcita-caraṇa, *epithet*, 1 note
Bhuvanakośa, *a section of some of the Purāṇas*, 73
Bhuvaneśa, *same as* Bhubaneswar, *locality*, 74, 78 and note, 83, 98, 114, 126 note
Bhuṭān, *territory*, 221
Bidaspes, *same as* Vitastā, *river*, 41 note, 94
Bihar, 12-13, 16, 22 note, 27 note, 28 note, 33 note, 42 note, 54 note, 83-84, 93-95 97-99, 102, 111, 114-16, 118, 123 note, 127 note, 135, 138, 159, 172, 192-94, 195 note, 221-24, 229
Biharsharif, *locality*, 119
Bijapur, *locality*, 90, 221-22
Bilaspur District, 35 note, 99, 203
Bilhaṇa, *author*, 156
bil, 'lake', 105
Bilva tree, 96
Bindu-saras, *Himalayan lake*, 5 and note, 8, 13, 58 note, 59 and note
Binka, *identified with* Yayātinagara, *locality*, 146
Bipasis, *same as* Vipāśā, *river*, 41 note
Birāṭ-rājār Gaṛh, *fort*, 93
Birbhum District, 109
Birur grant of Viṣṇuvarman, 156
Bitur castle, 44
Biyāha, Biyāh, *same as* Vipāśā, *river*, 43 note, 44
Blaev, *author*, 127, 130
Bodha, *people*, 21 and note
Bodhan, *locality*, 31 note, 154, 158
Bōdhgayā, *holy place*, 178
Bogra District, 20 note, 105, 114, 173, 218
Bolpur, *locality*, 109
Bombay, *city*, 31 note
Bombay State, 30 note, 31 note, 32 note, 88, 198, 203, 215
Brahmadeya-nyāya, 191
Brahma-kuṇḍa, *holy pool*, 219-20
Brāhmaṇa classes, 120-21
Brāhmaṇas of Gayā, 228
Brāhmaṇas of North India, 16
Brāhmaṇas of South India, 16
Brāhmaṇa Śāhi, *dynasty*, 233-34
Brāhmaṇḍāṅgā, *locality*, 130 note
Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa, *work*, 3 note, 17-19, 21 and note, 23 note, 24 note, 25 note, 26 note, 27 note, 28 note, 29 note, 30 note, 31 note, 32 note, 33 note, 34 note, 35 note, 36 note, 37 note, 39 and note, 40 note, 41 note, 42 note, 43 note, 45 note, 46 note, 47 note, 48 note, 49 note, 50 note, 51 note, 52 note, 53 note, 54 note, 55 note, 57 and note, 58 note, 59 note, 60 note, 61 note, 62 note, 63 note, 64 note, 65 note, 66 note, 67 note, 188, 225, 227
Brahmāṇī, Brāhmaṇī, *river*, 51 and note
Brahmaputra, *river*, 10, 42 note, 59 note, 74, 78, 84, 87, 95, 102, 114-15, 125 note
Brahma Purāṇa, *work*, 17, 35 note, 37 and note, 38 note, 55 and note, 56 note, 188, 219, 226
Brahmaśilā, *locality*, 241-42, 244-45
Brahmāvarta, *district*, 40 note, 103, 172 and note, 187
Brāhmaṇavāha, Vaṁbhanavāhaka, *same as* Bahmanābād, *locality*, 202
Brahma-Gayā, *holy place*, 230

Brahma-saras, *holy pool*, 220, 226
Brahmayoni, *same as* Gaya-śiras, *hill* 228
Brāhmī script, 18
Brahmottara, *people* and *district*, 28 and note, 64 and note
Bṛhadeśvara, *god*, 88
Bṛhadgṛha, *same as* Kārūṣa, *country*, 33 note
Bṛhaspati-kuṇḍa, *holy pool*, 220
Bṛhaspatismṛiti, *work*, 226
Bṛhatkathāślokasaṁgraha, *work*, 66 note
Bṛhatsaṁhitā, *work*, 17, 24 note, 31 note, 115, 143, 169, 213 and note
Brindakoori, *locality*, 218
Broach, *same as* Bharoj, *locality*, 33 note, 45, 104, 106
Buckergunje District, 115, 123, 125-26, 132, 133 note
Buddha, *religious teacher*, 119, 206, 211, 216, 227-30
Buddhacarita, *work*, 227
Buddhaghoṣa, *author*, 213-14, 230
Buddhagupta, *person*, 116
Buddhist religion, 113, 119
Budhagupta, *Gupta king*, 4, 217-18
Budil Pass, 65 note
Bukhara, *locality*, 44, 164
Bundelkhand, *district*, 48 note, 151, 202
Burdwan, *town* and *district*, 114, 176, 180
Burhī-Rāptī, *same as* Dhavalā, *river*, 41 note
Burma, *country*, 28 note, 59 note, 66 note, 96, 127 note

C

Cāhamāna, *dynasty*, 14
Cāhuka, *people*, 27 and note
Caiṣīka, *people*, 30 and note
Caitanya, *religious teacher*, 188
Caitanyacaritāmṛta, *work*, 52 and note, 188
Caitayamaṅgala, *work*, 180
Cakṣu, Sucakṣu, *river*, 58 and note, 61 and note
Cakravāla-cakravartin, 'ruler of the four continents constituting earth, 5 note
Cakravālaparvata, *mythical mountain*, 9 note
Cakravarman, *king*, 238
Cakravarti-kṣetra, 'sphere of influence of an Indian emperor', 5 note, 7-9, 11-13, 15-16, 122 and note, 178, 184
Cakravartin, *title*, 3 note, 4, 5 and note, 8, 11, 13, 122
Cakriṇī, *river*, 48 note
Calcutta, *city*, 68, 131 note, 165, 182, 195, 221
Cāḷukya, *dynasty*, 10, 15, 135, 156 note, 157, 192, 243
Cāmara, *people*, 37 note
Cambyson, *a mouth of the Ganges*, 140-41
Campā, *city*, 27 note
Campā, *same as* Cāndan, *river*, 83
Campānagar, *locality*, 83
Campāpur, *locality*, 83
Campāraṇya, *same as* Campāraṇ, *district*, 77, 94
Campos, *author*, 130 note
Cāmuṇḍā, *goddess*, 82 and note
Cañcalā, *river*, 47 note
Candanā, *river*, 43 note, 45 and note
Candanā, *same as* Sabarmatī, *river*, 45 note
Caṇḍārjuna, *chief*, 167
Candella, *dynasty*, 1
Caṇḍīdāsa, *author*, 180
Caṇḍīhara, *Somavaṁśī king*, 146-47
Caṇḍīmaṅgala, *work*, 127 note, 180 and note
Candra, *dynasty*, 123, 125-27, 130, 132, 133 note
Candra, *same as* Candragupta II, *Gupta emperor*, 10, 184
Candrabhāgā, *river*, 39 note, 40 and note, 43 note, 44, 55 and note, 57 note, 186
Candra-dvīpa, *same as* Bāklā-Candra-dvīp, *district*, 125, 132
Candragarbhasūtra, *Candragarbhavaipulya*, *work*, 70
Candra-giri, *locality*, 90
Candragomin, *author*, 209 and note
Candragupta II, *Gupta emperor*, 4, 10, 150, 184
Candrāha, *same as* Candrabhāgā, *river*, 43 note, 44
Candranātha, *god in the Chittagong District*, 82 note, 109
Candrāpīḍa, *imaginary king*, 57 note
Candravṛtti, *work*, 209
Candrikā, *river*, 39 note, 40 note
Caṅku, *river*, 42 note
Canon Masudicus, *work*, 162
Cape Comorin, *locality*, 5, 8, 13, 30 note
Caraṇādri, *hill*, 78, 100
carita, 'experiences', 247
Caritravardhana, *author*, 212
Carmakhaṇḍika, *people*, 23 and note
Carmaṇvatī, *river*, 43 note, 46 and note, 57 note
Carmaṇyavatī, *river*, 45 note
Carnatic, *territory*, 69
caryā song, 119-20
Cāṭa, *country*, 203
Caturāsikā, same as *Caturaśītikā* or

Caurāśī, 'group of 84 villages', 199
Caturaśīti, same as *Caurāsi*, 'group of 84 villages', 198
Caturuttara-caturuāsikā, *district*, 198 note
Catuḥ-srotas, *holy stream*, 219
Caudvāra-kaṭaka, *same as* Cuttack, 147
Caula, Cola, *people* and *country*, 71, 76
Caulya, *people*, 29 note
Caurāsī, same as *Caturaśīti*, 198
Cautang, *same as* Citang, *river*, 41 note
Cauthia system, 217 note
Cedi, *people* or *country*, 21 note, 48 note, 134, 202, 213
Central Asia, 60 note, 70, 163-64, 172, 233, 236
Central India, 151
Central Provinces, *older name of* Madhya Pradesh, 190
Ceylon, *country*, 11, 103, 107-08, 184, 189, 250
Ceylonese kings, 189
Chalan, *lake*, 104
Chalaur, *locality*, 40 note
Chambal, *river*, 45 note, 46 note, 50 note
Chandur Taluk, 153
Cha-puo-ho-lo, *locality*, 246
Chārikar, *locality*, 43 note
Charsadda, *locality*, 24 note, 26 note, 231
Chatigam, *same as* Chittagong, *locality*, 130 note
chatra, same as *kṣetra*, 221
Chattisgarh, *territory*, 54 note, 150
Chatraghaut, *locality*, 222
Chatrapatha, *locality*, 66 note
Chauki, *village*, 194
Cheen, *same as* Pegu, *territory*, 96
Chenab, *same as* Candrabhāgā, *river*, 24 note, 25 note, 27 note, 38 note, 40 note, 62 note
Che-pa(fo)-lo-fa-ti, *Chinese form of* Śavaravatī, *city* and *river*, 211
Chhota Nagpur, *district*, 54 note, 55 note
Chicacole, *same as* Śrīkākuḷam, *locality*, 54 note
Chi-lo-i-to, *same as* Śīlāditya-Harṣavardhana, *king*, 246
Chi-kieu-mo, *same as* Śrī-Kumāra, *i.e.* Bhāskaravarman, *king*, 246
China, *country*, 149 note
Chinab, *river*, 106
Chinese pilgrims, 169
Chitor, *locality*, 23 note, 243
Chitagong, *town* and *district*, 109, 123-29, 130 and note, 133 note, 169
Chittagong, *identified with* Bengala, 130 note
Chittagong plate of Kāntideva, 168
Chittar, *river*, 52 note
Chittoor District, 90, 108
Chūnār, *locality*, 100-01
Chutea Nagpur, *district*, 137
Cīna, *country* and *people*, 25 and note, 60 and note, 71, 77, 96, 97 note
Cīna-maru, '*the Cīna desert*', 61 and note
citra, same as *ālekhya*, 'painting', 246
Citrā, *river*, 39 note, 42 note
citrakāra, 'painter', 247
Citrakuñjavat, *locality*, 247-48
Citrakūṭa, *same as* Chitor, *fort*, 162, 243 note
Citrakūṭa hill, 47 note
Citrakūṭā, *river*, 47 and note
Citang, Citrang, Cautang, *river*, 41 note
Citrang, *same as* Citang, *river*, 41 note
Citrapalā, *river*, 48 note
Citraśilā, *river*, 51 note
Citrotpalā, *river*, 47 note, 48 and note
Cochbihar, *district*, 87, 93, 164-65
Cola, *people* and *country*, 2, 7, 29 and note, 76, 92, 143, 156 note, 208
Coleśa, *god*, 75, 88
Comorin, *cape*, 250
Constantinople, *city*, 110
Coorg, *territory*, 31 note
Corāsī, same as *Caurāsī*, 108
Cox's Bazar, *locality*, 127 note
Cuḍagaṅga, *same as* Coḍagaṅga, *king*, 136-37
Cuddappa District, 92
Cūḍika, *same as* Culika, *people*, 26 and note, 27 and note
Cūlaka, *people*, 61 note
Cūlavaṁsa, *Ceylonese Chronicle*, 137 and note 138
Cūlika, Cūḍika, *same as the* Sogdian, *people*, 26 and note, 27 note
Cullaniddesa, *work*, 206
Cupil Mani, *same as* Kapilamuni, 182
Cūrṇa, *people*, 27 note
Cuttack, *city* and *district*, 84, 136, 138, 141, 143-48, 176, 227

D

Ḍabhāla, *same as* Ḍāhala, etc., *people* and *country*, 232 note
Ḍabokā, *same as* Ḍavāka, *territory*, 236
Dacca, *city* and *district*, 84, 125-26, 128, 129 note, 130, 139, 166-67, 169, 170, 175, 195 note, 236-37
Dadhi-samudra, *mythical sea*, 163 note
Ḍāhāla, *same as* Ḍāhala, *country*, 202

Ḍāhala-9 lakhs, *country*, 204
Ḍāhala-maṇḍala, *country*, 200
Ḍākārṇava, *work*, 124
Dakshiṇ-dāṅgā, *locality*, 130 note
Dakṣiṇa-Kośala, *country*, 34 note, 135
Dakshiṇa-lipi, *script*, 119
Dakṣiṇa-Mathurā, *same as* Madurai, *city*, 188
Dakṣiṇāpatha, *people* and *country*, 14-16, 52 and note, 57 note, 73, 121-22, 153-54, 172, note, 173 note, 178 note, 242
Dakṣiṇa-Tosala, Dakṣiṇa-Tosalī, *land* and *people*, 34 note, 141-44, 146
Dākṣiṇātya, *same as* Dakṣiṇāpatha, *country* or *people*, 31 and note, 37 and note, 151 note, 172 and note, 173
Dalma hills, 55 note
Ḍāmara, 'landlord in ancient Kashmir', 238
Dāmodara, *king*, 169-70
Dāmodarpur, *locality*, 217 and note, 218, 222-23
Daṁśana, *people*, 25 note
Daṁṣṭrāṅkura, *locality*, 220
Daṇḍaka, *people* and *locality*, 30 and note, 247
Daṇḍak-āraṇya, *same as* Daṇḍaka, 247
Daṇḍin, *author*, 117
ḍāṅgā, *a Bengali word meaning* 'high land', 130 note
Danu, *demon*, 247
Danuj Rāi, *same as* Daśaratha, *Deva king*, 170
Darada, *people*, 25 and note, 61 and note
Daratpurī, *locality*, 25 note
Darbhanga District, 94
Darīpatha, *locality*, 66 note
Darius, *Persian emperor*, 164
Darsi, *locality*, 150
Dārukaccha, *mistake for* Bhārukaccha, people, 33 note
Dārukeśvara, *river*, 84
Dārva, *people*, 27 and note, 36 and note
Dārvābhisāra, *locality*, 27 note
Daśakumāracarita, *work*, 157
Daśamālika, Daśamānaka, *people* and *locality*, 24 and note
Daśanāmaka, Daśanāmika, *people* or *locality*, 24
Daśanapura, *city*, 150
Daśapura, *city*, 213
Daśārṇa, *people* and *country*, 34 and note, 91, 150-52
Daśārṇā, *river*, 47 and note, 49 note, 151
Daśaratha, *Deva king*, 170-71
Daseraka, *same as* Maru ,*people* and *country*, 26 and note
Dasht valley, 25 note
Datta, *dynasty*, 145
Daulatpura inscription, 161
Daulatābād, *city*, 104
Ḍavāka, *territory*, 236
De Barros, *geographer*, 112
Deccan, *country*, 14, 18, 23 note, 31 note, 51 note, 52 note, 101, 122, 157, 172 190, 242
Deeg, *same as* Devikā, *river*, 41 note
Dejja-mahārāja, *Rāṣṭrakūṭa king*, 152
Delhi, *city*, 21 note, 92-94, 97, 107-08, 121 note, 170, 202
Deṇḍavānaka-viṣaya, *district*, 161
Deoli, *locality*, 243 note
Deva, *dynasty*, 169-71
Devā, *same as* Sarayū, *river*, 40 note, 41 note
Devabhadra, *country*, 203
Devagiri, *same as* Daulatābād, *city* and *fort*, 104, 159
Devapāla, *Pāla king*, 11, 13, 193, 196
Devaprastha, *a Tantrik Division of India*, 73, 80, 107, 109
Devasabhā, *locality*, 73, 173 note
Devī, *goddess Śakti*, 93, 195
Devikā, *river*, 39 note, 41 and note, 43 note, 47 note, 57 note
Devīkoṭṭa, *locality*, 104
Ḍhākā, *Bengali spelling of* Dacca, 236, 238-39,
Ḍhakka, 'watch station', 239
Ḍhakka, Ḍhakkaka, *same as* Dacca, 238-39
Ḍhakka-bhāṣā, *Prakrit dialect*, 239
Dhakkā Bāzū, *locality*, 237
Ḍhākeśvarī, *goddess at Dacca*, 236
Dhaṅga, *Candella king*, 1
Dhaniya, *person*, 216
Dhaniyasutta, *work*, 216
Dhankuta, *locality*, 221
Dhanvatī, *river*, 46 note
Dharma, Dharmapāla , *Pāla king*, 124 note
Dharmāditya, *Gauḍa king*, 116
Dharmamahāmātra, *official designation*, 3
Dharmarāja, *chief*, 141
Dharmapāla, *author*, 230
Dharmapāla, *Pala king*, 11, 124 note, 196
Dharmasaṁhitā, *work*, 55
Dharmaśāstra, 225-26
Dharmodbhava, *locality*, 220
Dharwar District, 153, 155
Dhasan, *same as* Daśārṇā, *river*, 47 note, 151
Dhātakī, Dhātukī, *river*, 39 note
Dhauli, *locality*, 3, 34 note, 134, 142, 152

Dhautapāpā, *same as* Dhūtapāpā, *river*, 41 note
Dhavalā, *same as* Dhumelā *or* Burhī Rāptī, *river*, 41 note
Dhavalāgiri, *peak*, 221
Dhenuvaṭā, *locality*, 220
Dhīvara, *people*, 64 and note
Dholpur, *locality*, 167
Dhṛtapāpā, *river*, 39 note, 41 note
Dhruvarāja, *king*, 144 note
Dhūlika, *people*, 61 note
Dhumelā, *same as* Dhavalā, *river*, 41 note
Dhūtapāpā, Dhutapāpā, *river*, 39 note, 41 and note, 43 note
Dhūtavāhinī, *river*, 47 note
Dianga, *locality*, 130 note
Diddā, *Kashmir queen*, 234
Didwana, *locality*, 161
dig-vijaya, 'conquest of the quarters', 6-7, 176
dig-vijayin, *epithet*, 4, 6, 8
Dihaṇḍa, *wrong reading for* Udabhāṇḍa, 232
Dinajpur District, 93, 104, 191 note, 195 note, 217-18, 222-23
Dīnāra, *coin*, 217
diśām-pati, *epithet*, 4, 5
Divyāvadāna, *work*, 211, 216 note
Diyar-i-Bangāla, *district*, 170
Doab, *territory*, 243 note
Ḍoṅgā-grāma, *village*, 217-18, 223 note
dorddaṇḍa-prabala-pratāpa-parama, *epithet*, 1
Dosara, Dosarene, *locality*, 151-52
drachm, *coin*, 160
Draḍa-viṣaya, Draḍasya-viṣaya, *a mistake for* Draviḍa-viṣaya, *country*, 202
Draviḍa, Drāviḍa, *country*, 71, 76 and note, 86, 92, 119
Drāviḍa, *South India*, 16
Draviḍa, *people*, 250
Drāviḍa script, 119
Drāviḍa Brāhmaṇa, 16, 120 note, 121
Drevikā, *river*, 41 note
Dṛśadvatī, Dṛṣadvatī, *river*, 39 note 40 note, 41 and note, 42 note, 43 note, 57 note, 92, 103
Dṛryā, *river*, 46 note
Druha, *people*, 60 uote
Druhya, *people*, 24 note
Drumā, *river*, 47 note
Drūta, *fortress*, 43 note
Duarte de Barbosa, *Portuguese author*, 127
Ḍubi, *locality*, 116
Ḍudh-Kośī, *river*, 221
Dugdha-samudra, *mythical sea*, 153 note
Dugdhodā, *river*, 52 note
Duḥṣanta, Duṣyanta, *legendary king*, 2 note
Dukha Bazoo, *wrong reading of* Dhakkā Bāzū, 238
Durga, *people*, 31, 32 and note
Durgā, *river*, 32 note, 51 note
Durgamā, *river*, 51 note
Durgandhā, *river*, 51 note
Duryodhana, *epic king*, 6
Duṣyanta, *legendary king*, 2 and note
Dvādaśāditya-kuṇḍa, *holy pool*, 219
Dvārakā, *city*, 33 note, 76 and note, 78, 81, 91, 100, 107-08, 183
Dvārāvatī, *same as* Dvārakā, *holy place*, 224
dvīpa 'island', 163-64
Dvīpa-cakravartin, *epithet of Aśoka*, 5 note

E

Easterners, *a people according to the classification of the grammarians*, 209
Eastern Division of India ,172
Eastern Hindi, *dialect*, 119-20
Eastern India, 172, 175, 246
East Indian alphabet, 16
East Indian dialect, 119
East Indian hills, 54 note
East Indian script, 118-19
Edrisi, *author*, 161, 250
Egypt, *country*, 114, 164
Ekabāhu-deśa, *country*, 203
eka-cchatra, 'universal sovereign', 4, 7
Ekalavya, *people*, 33 note
Ekapāda, *people* and *country*, 203
Elāpatra, *same as* Airāvata, *mythical elephant*, 207
Elūra, *locality*, 135
Elāmañci-Kaliṅga-deśa, *same as* Yelamanchili Taluk, 136
English, *people* and *language*, 131 and note
English East India Company, 192
Erāpatha, *same as* Airāvata, *mythical elephant*, 207
Ethiopia, *country*, 164

F

Fa-hien, *Chinese traveller*, 228
Fakir Muḥammad, *author*, 127 note
Faridpur, *district* and *town*, 84, 125-26
Farrukhabad District, 21 note, 92, 121 note
farsakh, *a partivular measurement* of *distance*, 162, 232, 244-45
Fernandus, *Jesuit missionary*, 128 note
Firishta, *author*, 232-33
Fīrūz Shāh, *Tughluq Sulṭān*, 148

Five Indies, 73
Fyzabad, *district* and *town*, 22 note, 99

G

Gabhastimān, *a Division of Bhāratavarṣa*, 5 note
gadā, *weapon of Viṣṇu*, 107
Gadāvarta, *locality*, 81, 107-08
Gādhipura, *same as* Kanauj, *city*, 241, 242 and note
Gāhaḍavāla, *dynasty*, 198
Gājaṇaka, *same as* Gazni or Gazna, *territory*, 202
Gajapati, *title*, 81 note, 108
Gajapati, *dynasty*, 108
Gālava, *people*, 37 note
Gaṇaka, *people*, 26 note
Gaṇapāṭha, *work*, 66 note, 215
Gaṇḍak, *same as* Gaṇḍakī, *river*, 42 note
Gaṇḍaka, *officer*, 217
Gaṇḍakī, *river*, 39 note, 42 and note, 43 note, 77, 94
Gandhamādana, *peak*, 9, 13, 184
Gandhamādanagāminī, *river*, 53 note, 54 note
Gandhāra, *country* and *people*, 24 note, 44, 62 note, 102, 191, 192 note, 231, 233, 235
Gāndhāra, *people*, 24 and note, 61 and note, 71
Gāndhāra-viṣaya, *same as* Gandhāra, *country*, 62 note
Gandharva, *people*, 62 and note
Gandharva, *a Division of Bhāratavarṣa*, 5 note
Gandharva-deśa, *same as* Gandhāra, *country*, 62 note
Gaṇeśa-giri, *hill*, 74, 87, 97, 104
Gaṇeśvara, *deity* and *locality*, 77, 79, 97, 104
Gaṅga, *dynasty*, 142, 146, 148-49, 166, 170 note
Gaṅga, Eastern, *dynasty*, 84, 136 and note, 137-38
Gaṅga, Imperial, *dynasty*, 136-37
Gaṅga, Western, *dynasty*, 31 note
Gaṅgā, Gānga, Gāṅgeya, *people*, 139-40, 176
Gaṅgā, *goddess*, 180
Gaṅgā, *river*, 2, 10 note, 11 and note, 39 and note, 43 note, 47 note, 57 note, 58 note, 64 and note, 124, 139-40, 172 and note, 173, 175-76, 179, 181, 183, 243 note
Gaṅgā, *city*, 139-40
Gaṅgā, *same as* Gangāsāgara, 140
Gaṅgādvāra, *tīrtha*, 179 note
Gangāhṛdaya, Gaṅgarāḍha, Gaṅgārāṣṭra, *wrong transliterations of* Gangaridae, 138, 173
Gangarid, Gangaridae, '*Gangetic people*,' 135, 138-39, 140, 172-77
Gangasagur, *same as* Gaṅgāsāgara, 182, 183 note
Gaṅgāsāgara, *holy place*, 11, 13, 45, 140, 177, 178 and note, 180 note, 179-83
Gaṅgasāgarasaṅgama, *same as* Gaṅgāsāgara, *holy place at the junction of the Ganges and the sea*, 177, 179 note, 180
Gaṅgā-srotas, 'mouth of the Ganges', 177
Gaṅgavāḍi, Gaṅgavāḍi-96000, *district*, 199
Gaṅgāvākyāvalī, *work*, 180
Gange, Ganges, *same as* Gaṅgā, *city*, 139, 173-76
Ganges, *same as* Gaṅgā, *river*, 40 note, 41 note, 42 note, 45, 47 note, 48 note, 54 note, 58 note, 83-85, 92, 94, 97-98, 110-13, 124 and note, 136, 138-40, 152, 174-77, 179, 182, 193, 197, 200, 211, 241, 243 note, 244
Ganges, *country*, 175-76
Ganges, *people*, 174
Gangetic products, 175-76
Gāṅgeya, *people*, 139-40, 176
Gangians, *same as* Gangaridae, *i.e.* the Vaṅgas, 174, 176-77
Ganjam District, 30 note, 53 note, 134, 136, 141-42, 145
Garhwal District, 26 note
Garuḍa Purāṇa, *work*, 17-18, 20, 22 note, 47 note, 57 note, 225
Gastaldi, *Portuguese author*, 112, 127
Gauḍa, name derived from *Guḍa*, 111
Gauḍa, Gaur, *city*, 98, 110-13
Gauḍa, *country*, 15-16, 71 and note, 78, 111-17, 126 note, 136 note, 145, 151, 156
Gauḍa, *same as* West Bengal, 98, 115
Gauḍa, *same as* North India, 15-16, 120-22
Gauḍa, *a section of North Indian Brāhmaṇas*, 16, 121 and note
Gauḍa, *Eastern India*, 16, 117-20
Gauḍa dynasty, 116
Gauḍa language, 120 and note
Gauḍa script, 120
Gauḍa style, 117, 120, 151 and note
Gauḍa, *same as* Lakhnautī, *city*, 110
Gauḍa *same as* Lakhnautī, *province*, 129
gauḍa, same as *garuḍa*, 117
Gauḍa, derived from *Goṇḍ*, 117
gaüḍa, derived from *gokuṭa*, 117
Gauḍa-deśa, *country*, 202
Gauḍaka, *same as* Gauḍa, *country*, 115

Gauḍapura, *city*, 111
Gauḍavaha, *work*, 38 note
Gauḍa-Vaṅga, *territory*, 115
Gauḍa-viṣaya, *district*, 85
Gauḍeśa, Gauḍeśī, *deities*, 98, 114
Gauḍī, *language*, *script and style of East India*, 119, 151 and note
Gauhati, *city*, 28 note, 87, 103
Gaur, Gaura, *same as* Gauḍa *or* Lakhnautī, *city*, 98, 110, 112, 126, 129 note, 133, 166
Gauṛ, *community*, 121 note
Gaur-Bangāl, *territory*, 99, 115, 126
Gauṛ-Brāhmaṇ, *same as* Gauḍa-Brāhmaṇa, *community*, 121
Gaurī, *same as* Pārvatī, *goddess*, 14 and note, 180
Gauṛ-Kāyath, *community*, 121 note
Gaurnadī, *locality*, 126
Gauro, *same as* Gaur (Gauḍa) *or* Lakhnautī, *city*, 129 note
Gaur-Rājput, *community*, 121 note
Gauṛ-Tagā, *community*, 121 note
Gaur, *same as* Pañca-Gauḍa, 121 note
Gauṛ-Ṭhākur, *community*, 121 note
Gautama-gotra, 191
Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, *Sātavāhana king*, 14, 158, 214-15, 216 note
gavuḍa, *gauḍa*, 'village headman', 117
Gaya, *king*, 226-29
Gayā, *district* and *town*, 22 note, 42 note, 49 note, 84, 99-100, 181, 194, 224-30
Gayāla Brahmaṇa, 228
Gayā-nadī, *river*, 229-30
Gayā-phalgu, Gayā-phalgunī, *festival*, 229
Gayā-paradeśa, *district*, 100
Gayā-puṣkariṇī, *sacred pool*, 229-30
Gaya-śiras, Gayā-śiras, *same as* Gaya-śīrṣa, Gayā-śīrṣa, *hill*, 227-29
Gaya-śīrṣa, Gayā-śīrṣa, *same as* Gaya-śiras, Gayā-śiras, *hill*, 227-30
Gayāsūtra, *work*, 230
Gayā-tīrtha, *holy place*, 224, 229-30
Gayā-viṣaya, *district*, 194
Geyamālava, *people*, 28 note
Geyamallaka, *people*, 28 note
Geyamarthaka, *people*, 28 note
Ghaggar, *river*, 40 note, 42 note
Ghagra, Gogra, *same as* Sarayū, *river*, 40 note
Ghaṭs, Western, *mountain*, 101, 188-89
Ghaṭa, *same as* Western Ghāṭs, 101
Ghaṭṭa, *locality*, 78
Ghazna, Ghaznī, *city* and *district*, 24 note, 26 note, 202, 233
Ghiyās Khaljī, *king*, 244
Ghiyāsuyddīn Balban, *king*, 170
Ghogra, *river*, 97
Ghorvand, *river*, 43 note
Ghōṣa, *locality*, 86
Ghūzak pass, 43 note
Girjāk, *same as* Girivraja, *city*, 25 note
Girnar, *hill*, 215
Girivraja, *same as* Girjāk *or* Jalālpur, *city*, 25 note
Goa, *territory*, 34 note, 101
Godavari District, 134-35, 227
Godāvarī, *river*, 23 note, 30 note, 31 note, 50 note, 51 and note, 52 note, 56 and note, 57 note, 76, 84, 91, 134-36, 153-55, 206-07, 214, 215 and note
Godhāvarī, *same as* Godāvarī, *river*, 207
Gogardana, *mistake for* Gonardana 207
Gogra, *same as* Sarayū, *river*, 40 note
Goharwa inscription of Karṇa, 132
Gokak plates of Dejja-mahārāja, 152
Gōkarṇa, *holy place in South India*, 11
Gokarṇa, *holy place in Nepal*, 78 and note, 99, 109
Gōkarṇeśa, *god* and *locality*, 78 and note, 81 and note, 99, 108-09
Gokarṇa-kṣetra, *holy place in South India*, 86
Gokula, *locality*, 102, 107
gokuta, same as *gaüḍa*, 117
Golāṅgula, *people*, 29 note
Gomal, *same as* Gomatī, *tributary of the Indus*, 41 note
Gomanta, *people*, 29 note, 213
Gomatī, *river*, 39 note, 41 and note, 43 note, 57 note,
Gomeda, *people*, 29 note
Gonadda, *same as* Gonarda, *locality*, 201
Gonaddha, *same as* Gonarda, *locality*, 206-07, 213-14
Gonanda, *people*, 29 note
Gonanda, *mistake for* Gonarda, *locality*, 207
Gonarda, *people* and *locality*, 29 and note, 154 note, 206-09, 213-14
Gonardana, *same as* Gonarda, *locality*, 206
Gonardīya, Gonardian, *epithet of* Patañjali, 208-09
Gond, *people*, 117
Gonda District, 116-17
Goomti, *same as* Gomatī, *river*, 41 note
Gopacandra, *Gāūḍa king*, 116, 151
Gopāla II, *Pāla king*, 13
Gopta, *people*, 34 note
Gorakhpur District, 29 note
Govardhana, *holy place*, 23 note, 257-58
Govinda, *people*, 29 note
Govinda III, *Rāṣṭrakūṭa king*, 124 note

Govinda IV, *Rāṣṭrakūṭa king*, 243 and note
Govindacandra, *Candra king*, 124-25
Govindacandra, *Gāhaḍavāla king*, 198, 199 note
Govindarāja, *chief*, 152 and note
Great Port, 128 and note
Greco-Roman writers, 138, 140
Greek, *people* and *language*, 138, 152, 163, 164 note, 172, 208, 250
Gṛdhrakūṭa, *same as* Śaila-giri, *hill*, 78, 100
Guhadevapāṭaka, *same as* Guheśvarapāṭaka, *city*, 145, 147
Guheśvarapāṭaka, *city*, 145, 147
Gujar, Gurjara, Gūrjara, *ancient name of Rājaputāna*, 161
Gujarāt, Gujarāta, *country*, 33 note, 45 note, 49 note, 91, 161, 198 and note, 202, 215
Gujarātra, *mistake for* Gurjaratrā, *country*, 202
Gūjar-Gaur, *a section of the Gauḍa-Brāhmaṇas*, 121 note
Gulf of Cambay, 45 note, 216
Guna District, 32 note, 35 note, 214 note
Guntur District, 29 note, 85, 135
Gupta, *dynasty*, 2-3, 6, 10-11, 115-16, 141, 151, 178-79, 214 note, 217-18, 226
Gurgaṇa, *people*, 36 note
Gurjara, Gūrjara, *people* and *country*, 160 and note, 161-63, 243 note
Gūrjara, *same as* Saurāṣṭra, *country*, 75, 76 and note
Gurjara, *a section of the Drāviḍa Brāhmaṇas*, 16, 120 and note, 121
Gurjaradeśa-70000, *country*, 204
Gurjara-Pratihāra, *dynasty*, 161-62, 244 note
Gurjara-rāṣṭra, *country*, 161
Gurjaratrā, *same as* Gujarāt, *country*, 161-63
Guṣa, *locality*, 86
Guzarāt, *same as* Gujarāt, *country*, 162
Guzr, *same as* Gujar, *people*, 161
Gwalior, *territory*, 91, 199 note, 204 note, 205, 214

H

Hahāla, *mistake for* Ḍabhāla, *people* and *country*, 232 note
Haihaya, *a branch of the Yādavas*, 35 note
Haimavata-varṣa, *same as* Hima-varṣa *or* Bhārata-varṣa, 59 note
Haiṣīka, *people*, 30 note
Hamadan inscription, 164
Hammīra, *same as* Sulṭān Mahmūd of Ghaznī, 234
Hammīramahākāvya, *work*, 124
Hampi, *locality*, 157
Haṁsa-Kerala, *country*, 74, 85-86
Haṁsamārga, *same as* Humza, *people* and *country*, 26 and note, 36 and note, 67 and note
Haṁsapura, *same as* Mūltān, *city*, 44
Hapta-Hindu, *Sapta-Sindhu*, 44
Hara, *deity*, 58 note
Hārabhūṣika, *people*, 24 note
Hārahūra, *a branch of the Huns*, 24 and note
Hāramūrtika, *people*, 24 note
Hāramūṣika, *people*, 24 note
Hārapūrika, *people*, 24 note
Hārarāvī, *river*, 39 note
Haraz, *a mistake for* Gujar, 160
Hardwar, *holy place*, 106
Harez, Harezi, *mistakes for* Gujar, 160-61, 163
Hari, *same as* Viṣṇu, *god*, 181
Hariāla, *mistake for* Hariyāṇa, *country*, 202
Harihara II, *king*, 157
Harihara-kṣetra, *locality*, 42 note
Harikāladeva Raṇavaṅkamalla, *king*, 169
Harikela, Harikelā, Harikeli, Harikela-maṇḍala, *country*, 124 125 and note, 168
Harikṛṣṇa-miśra, *author*, 70
Hārītī, *goddess*, 195 and note
Harivaṁśa, *work*, 17, 35 note, 49 note, 107
Hariyāṇa, *country*, 202
Haro, *river*, 231
Harṣa, Harṣavardhana, *Puṣyabhūti king*, 9, 101, 113, 135, 145
Harṣacarita, *work*, 9, 14, 27 note, 98, 101, 113, 151 note
Harṣavardhana, *people*, 25 note
Hastināpura, *city*, 6, 21 note, 79-80, 102, 107, 121 note
Hastings, *ruler*, 247
Hathigumpha inscription, 158
Hazara District, 26 note, 191
Hebbata grant, 190-91
Heliodorus, *Gree ambassador*, 208
Helmund, *river*, 23 note, 163
Hemacandra, *author*, 124-25, 208, 242
Hemādri, *author*, 212
Herat, *city* and *district*, 23 note, 24 note
Herbaṭa, *village*, 191
Hesydrus, *same as* Śatadru, *river*, 40 note
Hiḍimbā, *river*, 57 note
Hika, *demon*, 186
Hill Tippera, *territory*, 170
Himācala, *same as* Himālaya, *mountain*, 12 and note

Himādri, *same as* Himālaya, *mountain*, 14, 56, 99
Himakūṭa, *same as* Himālaya, *mountain*, 220
Himālaya, *mountain*, 5-14, 39 note, 40 note, 42 note, 59 note, 95-97, 103, 109, 122, 184, 219-20, 248
Himalayas, Eastern, 36 note, 59 note
Himalayas, Western, 61 note
Himalayan region, 36 note, 37 note, 73, 172, 218
Himalayan country, 173
Himaparvata, *same as* Himālaya, *mountain*, 220
Hima-śaila, *same as* Himālaya, *mountain*, 11 and note
Hima-varṣa, *same as* Haimavata-varṣa *or* Bhārata-varṣa, 59 note
Himavat, *same as* Himālaya *mountain*, 5 and note, 12 note, 39 note, 42 note, 43 and note, 55 and note, 60 and note, 172 note, 173 note, 217-18, 220, 222-23
Hīna, *people*, 37 note
Hindī, *language*, 131
Hindu land, 164
Hindu people, 247
Hindu Kush, *mountain*, 25 note
Hindustān, 75, 77, 88, 121 note
Hiṅgulā, Hiṅgulāja, *same as* Hiṅglāj, *deity* and *locality*, 81, 88, 108
Hiṅglāj, Hiṅglāj-tīrtha, *locality*, 89, 95
Hīṅgulāla, *mistake for* Hiṅgulāja, Hiṅglāj, *locality*, 95
Hiṅgu-pīṭha, *same as* Hiṅgulāja, 77, 95
Hingniberdi plates, 152
Hīrā-mahādevī, *queen*, 143
Hiraṇvatī, *river*, 39 note
Hiuen-tsang, *Chinese traveller*, 87, 97-98, 103, 113, 115, 145, 161, 163, 169, 173, 228, 235
Hlādinī, *river*, 58 and note, 64 and note
Hommanus, *author*, 130 note
Hooghly, *river*, 125 note, 128 note, 174
Hooghly, *port*, 128 and note, 182
Hooghly District, 114, 138, 166
Hormazd I, *Sasanian emperor*, 160
Hormard II, *Sasanian emperor*, 160
Hrada, *people*, 24 note, 61 note
Hradikā, Hrādikā, *river*, 48 note
Hrādinī, Hlādinī, *river*, 58 and note, 59 note
Hrezi, *mistake for* Gujar, 160
Huddu-ul 'Alam, *work*, 232
Hudvuda, *people*, 33 note
Hūhuka, *people*, 36 and note, 67 and note
Huliṅga, Bhuliṅga, *a branch of the Śālvas*, 21 note
Humza, *locality*, 26 note
Hūṇa, *people* and *country*, 7, 24 note, 27 and note, 36 and note, 38 and note, 71, 78, 101
Huruṣkara, *mistake for* Turuṣkaka, *people*, 232 note
Huśaṅga Gorī, *same as* Hushang Alp Khān Ghūrī, *ruler*, 244
Hushang Alp Hhan Ghūrī, *ruler*, 244
Huzr, *wrong reading for* Guzr, 161
Hydaspes, *same as* Vitastā, *river*, 41 note
Hyderabad, *city* and *territory in the Deccan*, 11, 29 note, 104, 154-55, 156 note, 158, 190-92, 215
Hyderabad, *locality in Sind*, 202
Hyderabad, Southern, 191
Hydraotes, *same as* Irāvatī, *river*, note

Ibn Batūta, *Muslim traveller*, 123 note
Ibn al Fakih, *author*, 127 note
Ibn Haukal, *author*, 250
Ibn Khordādbeh, *author*, 161
Ikṣu-samudra, *mythical sea*, 163 note
Ikṣu, *river*, 42 and note
Ikṣudā, *river*, 53 note
Ikṣukā, *river*, 53 note
Ikṣulā, *river*, 53 and note
Ikṣumatī, *same as* Kālīnadī, *river*, 42 note
Ikṣvāku, *dynasty*, 176, 215, 247
Iḷāla, *Tamil form of* Lāṭa, 121
Inde, *country*, 160
India, 115, 164 and note, 174, 208, 233
India, Central, 24 note, 33 note
India, Eastern, 1, 29 note, 55 note
India, Northern, 3, 172, and note, 192
India, North-Western, 19, 24 note, 161, 172
India, Southern, 4, 188
India, South-Western, 14
India, Western, 33 note
Indian literature, 176
Indian Ocean, 122, 184, 250
Indian people, 163
Indore, *city* and *territory*, 49 note, 90, 115, 206
Indo-Scythia, Scythia, *country*, 106
Indra III, *Rāṣṭrakūṭa king*, 243 and note, 244 note
Indradvīpa, *a Division of Bhāratavarṣa*, 5 note, 59 note, 66 and note
Indradyumna, *king*, 65 note
Indradyumna-saras, *holy pool*, 65 and note
Indrahāsa, *people*, 61 note
Indraloka, *locality*, 219

Indramaru, *people* or *land*, 61 and note
Indraprastha, *city*, 21 note, 76, 81, 92-94, 107
Indraprastha, *a Tantrik Division of India*, 73, 80
Indraśaṅkupatha, *pass* or *locality*, 66 note
Indus, *same as* Sindhu, *river*, 10, 24 note, 25 note, 40 note, 41 note, 43 note, 44, 58 note, 62 note, 106-07, 164 and note, 184, 231-32
Indus Valley script, 18
Iqlim-i-Lakhnautī, *territory*, 170
Iradate, *country*, 160
Iran, *country*, 163, 164 note
Iranian people, 44
Iraq, *country*, 96
Irāva, *same as* Irāvatī, *river*, 41
Irāvatī, *river*, 33, note, 39 note, 41 and note, 43 note, 44, 57 note
Irawadi, *river in Burma*, 59 note
Iśānavarman, *Maukhari king*, 116, 135
isba, 'inch,' 250
Isthmus of Kra, 66 note
Ishtpal, *identified* with Aṣṭapāladeva, *king*, 232
I-tsing, *Chinese pilgrim*, 169

J

Jabalpur District, 34 note, 200
Jadūra, *mistake for* Rajauri, *city*, 162
Jagannātha, *god* and *locality*, 74-75, 78, 81, 84-85, 87, 100, 108, 165-67
Jagannātha-purī, *locality*, 165
Jagara, *people*, 26 note
Jāguḍa, *people* or *country*, 26 and note, 235
Jahāhuti, *same as* Jejābhukti, *territory*, 202
Jahāṅgir, *Mughal emperor*, 237
Jahāṅgirnagar, *same as* Dacca, *city*, 237
Jahnāvār, *locality*, 24 note, 44
Jailam, *same as* Jhelam, *river*, 43 note, 44
Jailam, *city*, 44
Jain, *religious sect*, 140
Jaipur, *city* and *teritory*, 22 note, 93, 105, 182, 203
Jajjamau, *locality*, 244-45
Jājnagar, *city* and *territory*, 123 note, 147
Jājnagar, *a corruption of* Yayātinagara, 146-48
Jājnagar, *identified with the* Gaṅga kingdom, 146, 148-49
Jājpur, *locality*, 109, 145-48
Jājpur, *derived from* Yajātipura, 147
Jala-samudra, 'sea of water', 163 note
Jalabindu, *locality*, 220
Jalālpur, *same as* Girivraja, *locality*, 25 note
Jalāluddīn, *son of Sulṭān Shamsuddīn Fīrūz Shāh*, 171
Jalandhar, Jālandhara, *locality*, 37 note, 202
Jālandhra, *same as* Jalandhar, *locality*, 71
Jalaon District, 243
Jalpaiguri District, 97
Jalpeśvara, *god*, 97
Jambu-dvīpa, *a Continent according to Puranic conception*, 3, 6, 8, 9 and note, 70, 163 note, 248-49
Jambulā, Jambūlā, *river*, 48 note
Jambu-nadī, *river*, 218
Janakpur, *same as* Mithilā, *locality*, 28 note
Janmejaya, *Kaurava king*, 121 note
Janārdana-kṣetra, *holy place*, 86
janapada, 'country', 19, 21 note, 22 and note, 31 note, 33 note, 34 note, 61 and note, 64 and note, 99, 151, 231
Janapāla, 'governor', 235 note
Janasthāna, *locality*, 247-48
Jāṅgala, *people* or *country*, 21 and note, 26 note, 98
Jāṅgala-Jhārī-khaṇḍa, *country*, 84, 114
Jaṇṇupatha, *pass* or *locality*, 66 note
Jānuka, *people*, 29 note
Jarāsandha, *mythical king*, 108
Jarṇa, *people*, 27 note
Jārtika, *same as* Jāṭ, *people* and *country*, 185, 186 and note
Jaswantpur District, 161
Jāt, *people*, 186 note
Jātaka, *work*, 212
Jaleśvara, *god* and *locality*, 77, 97
Jattaraur, *mistake for* Citrakūṭa (Chitor), *city*, 162
Jaugaḍa, *locality*, 134
Jaun, *same as* Yamunā, *river*, 43 note, 45, 244
Jaxartes, *same as* Syr Darya, *river*, 59 note, 60 note, 163-64
Jayadatta, *ruler*, 217
Jayadeva, *author*, 180
Jayanāga, *Gauḍa king*, 116
Jayapāla, *Rājā of Lahore*, 232-34
jayaskandhāvāra, 'camp' *or* 'residence', 127 note, 193
Jejābhukti, *same as* Jahāhuti, *territory*, 202
Jesuit Christian Mission, 128 note
Jhang District, 61 note
Jhansi District, 106
Jhārīkhaṇḍa, *same as* Santal Parganas, *territory*, 98, 114
Jhelam, *same as* Vitastā, *river*, 24 note,

25 note, 27 note, 41 note, 43 note, 44, 94, 106, 232
Jhelum District, 103
jhil, 'lake', 112
Jñeyamallaka, *people*, 28 note
Jodhpur, *territory*, 34 note, 91, 161-63
Jogbani, *locality* 221
Johiyabar, *territory*, 22 note
Joshimath, *locality*, 26 note
jougie, 'ascetic', 183 note
Juhuḍa, *people*, 26 note
Jumna, *same as* Yamunā, *river*, 40 note, 45 note, 46 note, 47 note, 48 note, 84, 115, 241, 243 and note
Junagadh inscription, 158
Jurz, Juzr, *mistake for* Gujar, 161
Jvālāmukhī, *holy place*, 103
Jyotirliṅga, *one of the 12 celebrated phallic emblems of Śiva*, 88

K

Kaaba, *shrine*, 95
Kabul, *city*, 43 note, 93, 230, 233
Kabul, *river*, 41 note, 43 note, 61 note, 261
Kābulī, 'inhabitant of *Kābul*', 131
Kābul-Shāh, *title*, 235 note
Kacch, Kaccha, Kaccha-maṇḍala, *country*, 44, 71, 79, 104-06, 203, 215
Kacchapa, *territory*, 93, 104-05
Kacchīya, *people*, 33 and note
Kadamba, *dynasty*, 15, 101, 153, 155, 190-91, 205 note
Kadamba grant, 157
Kādambarī, *work*, 9, 92
Kādira Sāhi, *same as* Abdul Qādir, *ruler*, 244
Kaikaya, Kekaya, *country* and *people*, 78, 102
Kaikaṭa, Kīkaṭa, *country*, 71, 78
Kaikeya, *people*, 24 and note
Kailan plate, 169
Kailāsa, *peak*, 11 and note, 13, 15, 77 and note, 97
Kaithal-Gauṛ, *a section of the Gauḍa-Brāhmaṇas*, 121 note
Kaiyaṭa, *grammarian*, 208
Kaj, *river*, 44
Kākan, Kākandī, Kākandīnagarī, *locality*, 254-55
Kākatīya, *dynasty*, 20, 89
Kakka II, *Rāṣṭrakūṭa king*, 198
Kakṣa-viṣaya, *district*, 193-94
Kāla-Bhairava, *god*, 99
Kalacuri, *dynasty*, 32 note, 101, 200
Kalacurya, *dynasty*, 124
Kālahayaṁjaya, *mistake for* Kālañjara, *territory*, 203
Kālaka-vana, *land*, 172 and note
Kālañjara, *territory* and *fort*, 203, 243
Kālañjara, *people*, 65 note
Kalāpagrāma, *locality*, 63 note
Kalāpagrāmaka, *people*, 63 and note
Kālapriya, *locality*, 241-44
Kālapriya, Kālapriyanātha, *god*, 242, 243 and note, 244
Kālapriya-pattana, *same as* Kālpī, *locality*, 244
Kalaṣvanā, *river*, 52 note
Kalāt, *locality*, 23 note, 25 note
Kālatoyaka, *people* or *country*, 23 and note, 62 note
Kālavana, *people*, 31 note
Kāleśvara, *deity* and *locality*, 74, 78, 86, 99
Kalhaṇa, *author*, 86, 232-35, 238
Kali age, 18
Kalīdara, *people*, 65 note
Kālidāsa, *poet*, 6, 38 note, 42 note, 138-40, 176-77, 195, 208, 212
Kālika, *people*. 61 note
Kālikā, *goddess*, 75, 81, 90
Kālikāmukha, *locality*, 81
Kālikā Purāṇa, *work*, 87
Kālīkaṭa, *people*, 31 note
Kalikātā, *Bengali name of* Calcutta 131 note
Kālīnadī, *river*, 40 note, 42 note
Kalindagatika, *people*, 65 note
Kālindī, *river*, 39 note
Kālindrī, *river*. 112
Kaliṅga, *people* and *country*, 7, 21 note, 22 note, 30 and note, 37 and note, 71, 74, 84-85, 88-89, 134-35, 136 and note, 137-39, 141, 152, 155, 173, 175-76, 178
Kaliṅga, North-Eastern, 144
Kaliṅga, South-Eastern, 134
Kaliṅgādhipati, *title*, 134, 136-37, 142
Kaliṅganagara, *city*, 136-38, 142, 146, 148
Kalingapatnam, *locality*, 54 note
Kaliṅgattuparaṇi, *work*, 157
Kālīsindh, *river*, 45 note, 50 note
Kālītaka, *people*, 31 note
Kallar, *mistake for* Lalliya, *Śāhi king*, 233
Kalmāṣapāda, *mythical king*, 215
Kālodara, *people*, 65 and note
Kalpa, *country*, 38 note
Kalpadrukośa, *work*, 125 note
Kālpī, *locality*, 243-44
Kaltis, *Greek name for a gold coin*, 175
Kalyāṇa, *city*, 10, 156
Kalyāṇapura, *locality*, 86
Kāma, *territory*, 81, 100
Kāmā, Kāmākhyā, *goddess*, 82
Kāmādri, *hill*, 79, 103
Kāmagiri, *hill*, 78, 100-01
Kāmākhyā, *goddess*, 109
Kamalāmukha, *locality*, 81

Kamaluka Toramāṇa, *same as* Kamlū Rāy, *ruler*, 234
Kāmarūpa, *country*, 7, 12, 37 and note, 71, 74, 77-79, 86-87, 96-97, 103-04, 116, 145, 202, 246, 258
Kāmarūpī language, 120
Kāmasūtra, *work*, 83, 85, 87, 91, 102, 106, 136 note, 153, 157, 193 note
Kamauli plate, 199 note
Kamberikon, *Greek name for* a mouth the Ganges, 174
Kāmboja, *country* or *people*, 25 and note, 71, 76, 77, 92-93, 96, 203
Kāmbuva, *locality*, 238-39
Kambyson, *Greek name for* a mouth of the Ganges, 174, 176-77
Kāṁcī, *locality*, 224
Kampil, Kāmpilya, *locality*, 21 note, 22, 92
Kāmpilya, *territory*, 172 note
Kāmrūp, Kāmarūpa, *territory*, 102, 165, 168
Kaniṣka, *Kuṣāṇa king*, 233
Kanara (North) District, 30 note, 31 note, 86, 109
Kanara (South) District, 85-86, 89
Kanarese dynasties, 155, 157, 192
Kanarese empire, 155, 156 and note, 157
Kanarese language, 100
Kanarese script, 119
Kanauj, *city* and *territory*, 41 note, 101, 119, 161, 168 and note, 234, 241-42, 243 and note, 244-45
Kāñcī, Kāñchīpura, *city* and *territory*, 1 and note, 2, 82, 109
Kāñcīpura, *identified with* Kāñcīpīṭha, 109
Kandahār, *city*, 23 note, 93
Kāndhāhāra, *wrongly identified with* Gandhāra, 231
Kandhār, Kandhārapura, *town* 231-33
Kandhāra, *same as* Gandhāra, *country*, 232
Kangra District, 27 note, 41 note
Kanik, *same as* Kaniṣka, *Kuṣāṇa king*, 233
Kankatori, *river*, 86
Kannada country, 69, 119
Kannada language, 69, 87, 89, 117, 136
Kannaḍiga, *a section of the Drāviḍa Brāhmaṇas*, 121
Kanoj, *city* and *territory*, 45, 162
Kaṇṭakapattana, *locality*, 98, 114
Kaṇṭakāra, *people*, 24 note
Kaṇṭhaka, *locality*, 79 and note, 105-06
Kānti, *people*, 21 note
Kāntideva, *king*, 168
Kāntipura, *locality*, 202
Kānya, *locality*, 38 note
Kānyakubja, Kanyākubja, *city* and *territory*, 89, 201, 242 note
Kānyakubja, *a division of the North Indian Brāhmaṇas*, 16, 121
Kānyakubja-46 lakhs, *country*, 204
Kanyākumari inscription, 156 note
Kapila, *people*, 30 note
Kapila, Kapilamuni, *sage*, 181 and note, 182-83
Kapila temple at Gaṅgāsāgar, 182
Kapilavatthu, Kapilavastu, *locality*, 206
Kapilī, *river*, 236
Kāpiśa, *territory*, 43 note, 235
Kapiśā, *river*, 57 note, 140-41, 176
Kara-Manikpur, *district*, 167
Karachi, *city*, 88
Kārakukṣīya, *same as* Śālva, *people*, 21 note
Karāla, *people*, 32 note
Karamodā, *river*, 47 and note, 48 note
Karmanāśā, *river*, 48 note
Kāraskara, *people* and *locality*, 32 and note, 178
Karatoyā, *river*, 43 note, 51 note, 57 note, 77, 87, 95
Karhad, *locality*, 243 note
Karhad plates, 11, 253
Karimnagar District, 204 note
Karipati, same as *Gajapati*, *title*, 81 note
Karkal, *locality*, 32 note
Karmamārga, *people* and *locality*, 26 note
Kārmaṇeyaka, *people*, 213
Karṇa, *epic hero*, 6, 7
Karṇa, *Kalacuri king*, 32 note, 132
Karnal, *locality*, 92
Karnaphuli, *river*, 128 note, 130 note
Karṇaprāvaraṇa, *people* or *country*, 36 and note, 67 and note
Karṇasuvarṇa, *city* and *territory*, 98, 111-13, 115-16, 145, 174
Karṇāṭa, *same as* Kannaḍa, *a section of the South Indian Brāhmaṇas*, 16, 120 and note
Karṇāṭa, Karṇāṭaka, *country*, 69, 71, 75, 87, 89-90, 137, 156 and note, 157, 192 and note, 203, 213
Karṇāṭa dynasties, 155, 156 note
Karṇāṭa (Kannada) language, 86
Karṇāṭa (Kannaḍa) script, 119
Karṇāṭendu, *epithet*, 156
Karstuba, *people*, 60 note
Kārttika, *month*, 221
Kārttikeya, *god at Gaṅgāsāgara*, 181 note
Kārttikeya-kuṇḍa, *holy pool*, 220
Karūṣa, Kārūṣa, *people*, 21 note, 30 note 33 and note, 38 note
Karvaṭa, *country* and *people*, 71

Kaśāi, *same as* Kapiśā, *river*, 57 note, 140-41, 176
Kaśeruka, Kaseruka, *people*, 26 note
Kaserumat, *a Division of Bhāratavarṣa*, 5 note
Kashmir (Kāśmīra), *country*, 25 note, 36 note, 63 note, 65 note, 119, 232
Kashmir, Northern, 25 note
Kashmir, North-Western, 26 note, 36 note
Kāśi, people, 22 and note, 63 and note
Kāśī, *locality*, 224
Kasia, *locality*, 29 note
Kāśijorā, *locality*, 1
Kāśikā, *river*, 54 note
Kāśikāvṛitti, *work*, 209
Kāśīputra, *metronymic of* Bhāgabhadra, *king*, 208
Kāśmīra (Kashmir), *people* and *country*, 26 and note, 33 and note, 61 and note, 74, 77, 86, 96, 109, 202
Kaśyapapura, *same as* Mūltān, *city*, 44
Kaṭaka (Cuttack), *camp* and *city*, 149
Katas (Khetas), *locality*, 103
Kathaioi, *people*. 106
Kaṭhākṣara, *people*. 32 note
Kathāsaritsāgara. *work*. 83
Kathiawad, *territory*. 22 note, 33 note, 91, 107-08, 215
Katwa, *locality*, 114
Kauṁkaṇa. *same as* Konkan. *country*, 202
Kauṇḍinyapura, *locality*, 153
Kaurava, *same as* Kuru, *country*, 71. 79
Kaurava, *people*, 21 note. 121 note
Kauṣaka, *people*. 63 note
Kauśa, *same as* Kānyakubja. *city*, 242 note
Kauśāmbī, *city*, 102, 214
Kauśika, *people*, 21 note, 26 note. 175
Kauśikī, *river*, 39 note, 42 and note, 43 note, 57 note, 220-22
Kauṭilya, *author*, 115
Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra, *work*, 5
Kavāla, *village*. 197
Kāvera, *people*, 30 and note
Kāverī, *river*, 30 note, 45 note. 52 and note, 56 note, 57 note, 89
Kavikaṅkaṇa, *title*, 180
Kavinī, *river*, 45
Kāvyādarśa, *work*, 117, 151
Kāvyamīmāṁsā, *work*, 5, 17, 24 note, 45 note, 57 note 73, 157, 173, 204 note, 241
Kawāli. *village*, 197
Kāwanā, Kāwinī, *river*, 43 note
Kāyabish, *same as* Kāpiśa, *country*, 43 note, 44
Kayal, *port*, 188
Kāvyaśikṣā, *work*, 204
Kāyath-Gauṛ, *community*, 121 note
Kedāra, *locality*, 11, 13
Kekara, *people*, 65 and note
Kekaya, Kaikaya, *people* or *country*, 25 note, 71, 78, 102
Kekind, *locality*, 34 note
Ken, *river*, 47 note, 48 note
Kerala, Keralaka, *country* and *people*, 29 and note, 33 note, 65 note, 71 and note, 74. 85-86, 89, 208, 213
Keśapa, *people*, 25 note
Kesarī, *same as* Somavaṁśī, *dynasty*, 147
Keśava, *author*, 125 note
Keśavasena, *mistake for* Viśvarūpasena, *king*. 169 and note
Ketumālā. *river*, 57 note
Kevala, *people*. 29 note
Khaberos, *same as* Kāverī, *river*, 52 note
Khaḍāvadā, *locality*, 244
Khairagarh, *locality*, 34 note
Khajuraho, *locality*, 1, 202
Khakka, *same as* Khasa. *people*, 36 note, 63 note
Khallikot, *locality*, 141
Khanda, *same as* Skanda. *deity*, 207
Khandesh. *territory*, 104, 158
Kharapatha. *people* and *locality*, 66 and note
Khāravela. *Kaliṅga king*. 84. 134
Kharoṣṭhī, script, 18-19
Khasa, *people*, 36, 60 note. 63 and note
Khatmandu. *city*, 221-22
Khelliśa, *people*, 34 note
Kheṭaka. *people*, 24 note
Khetas (Katas), *locality*, 103
Khiching, *locality*, 144 note, 159
Khijjiṅga. *same as* Khiching, *city*, 144 note, 159
Khorasan, *territory*, 24 note, 95-96, 234
Khurāśana, *same as* Khorasan, *country*, 77 and note, 95-96
Kia-mu-lu. *Chinese form of* Kāmarūpa, *country*, 246
Kikarava, *people*, 34 note
Kīkaṭa, *territory*, 84, 100, 229
Kimpuruṣa, *people*, 63 and note
Kinnara, *people*, 62 and note
Kirānti, *people*, 22 note, 37 note
Kīrāt, *river*, 43 note
Kirāta, *country* and *people*, 20, 22 and nore, 26 and note, 37 and note, 59 note, 63 and note, 65 and note, 71, 77, 95, 103
Kirātavijayojaya, *mistake for* Kirātadeśa, *country*, 204
Kīrtināśā, 'destroyer of fame', *epithet of a river*. 237
Kisadya, *people*, 22 note

Kisajya *people*, 22 note
Kisalva, *people*, 22 note
Kisaṣṇa, *people*, 22 note
Kisaṣṭa, *people*, 22 note
Kishengaṅgā, *river*, 25 note, 86
Kiṣkindhā, Kiṣkindhyā, *locality*, 34 note, 247
Kiṣkindhaka, *people*, 34 and note
Kiu-che-lo, *Chinese form of* Gurjara, 161
Kiu-kia-t'o-na, *wrong Chinese form of* Gonarda. 207
Kiul, *locality*, 194
Kiul, *same as* Ṛṣikulyā, *river*, 54 note
Kleisobora, *same as* Kṛṣṇapura, *locality*, 102
Koa, Kophen, Kophes, *same as* Kabul. *river*, 41 note
Koḍagu, *same as* Coorg, *territory*, 31 note
Koel, *river*, 54 note, 55 note
Kokā, *river*, 22, 219-20, 222
Kokākolā, *river*, 222
Kokāmukha, *god* and *locality*, 217-18, 222
Kokāmukhasvāmin, *god*, 217-18, 223 note
Kokāmukha-tīrtha, *holy place*, 219-23
Kokānadī, *same as* Kokākolā, *river*, 219
Kokkonagai, *territory*, 152
Kolāpura, *same as* Kolhapur, *city*, 31 note, 75
Kolāpuranivāsinī *identified with* Mahālakshmī, *goddess*, 87
Kolavana, *people* or *country*, 31 and note
Kolhapur, *town* and *district*, 31 note, 87, 152
Kollur (Barkalūr), *locality*, 89
Koṁkaṇa, *territory*, 213
Kondapur, *locality*, 190-91
Koṇḍavati-2, *group of villages*, 199
Koṅgoda, *identified with the* Puri-Ganjam region, *country*, 136, 145-46
Koṅkan, Koṅkaṇa, *country*, 30 note, 31 note, 71, 75, 76 and note, 78 and note, 88, 91, 101, 155
Kousi, *same as* Kuśī *or* Kauśikī, *river*, 222
Kopā, *same as* Kūpā, *river*, 55 note
Kopāi, *river*, 109
Kophen, Kophes, Koa, *same as* Kabul, *river*, 41 note
Kora-Jahanabad, *territory*, 167
Korkai, *port*, 188
Kośala, *country* or *people*, 21 note, 22 and note, 34 and note, 71, 78, 150, 203, 212
Kośala, *same as* Mahā-Kośala, *country*, 99
Kosala, South, *same as the* Raipur-Sambalpur-Bilaspur region, 99
Kosala, *people*, 202, 206
Kosambī, Kauśāmbī, *city*, 206
Kosī, *same as* Kauśikī, *river*, 42 note, 221
Koṭeśvara-Mahādeva, *god*, 101
Koṭikarṇa, *person*, 211, 215
Koṭiśa, *god* and *locality*, 78 and note, 101
Koṭivarṣa, *district*, 191 note, 217-18, 220, 222-23
Kramavarta, *district*, 238-39
Kramu, *river*, 48 and note
Krauṁcha-dvīpa, Krauñcadvīpa, *a Continent according to Puranic conception*, 163 note
Krimilā, Kṛmilā, *city* and *district*, 193, 195-97
Krimilā-viṣaya, *district*, 197
Krishna, Kṛṣṇā, *river*, 31 note, 84-85
Kriyā, *river*, 47 and note
Kṛmilā, Krimilā, *city*, 193, 195-96
Kṛpā, *river*, 55 note
Kṛśā, *river*, 55 note
Kṛṣṇa, *god*, 108
Kṛṣṇa III, *Rāṣṭrakūṭa king*, 11, 243 note, 251-53
Kṛṣṇā, *river*, 14, 51 and note, 52 note, 74, 134-35, 158, 192
Kṛṣṇabenā, *same as* Kṛṣṇā, *river*, 158
Kṛṣṇacandra, *ruler of Nadia*, 1 note
Kṛṣṇadevarāya, *king of Vijayanagara*, 12
Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgīśa, *author*, 69
Kṛṣṇapura, *locality*, 102
Kṛṣṇaveṇī, Kṛṣṇaveṇvā, Kṛṣṇaveṇyā, *same as* Kṛṣṇā, *river*, 51 note, 52 note, 56 and note, 57 note
Kṛtamālā, *river*, 52 and note, 56 and note, 188
Kṛtatālā, *river*, 57 note
Kṛtavīrya, *Haihaya king*, 35 note
Kṛttivāsa, *author*, 112
Kṛtyakalpataru, *work*, 150
Krūra, *people*, 61 note
Kṣamā, *river* 47 note
Kṣatodara, *people*, 25 note
Kṣatri, *people*, 25 and note, 26 and note
Kṣatriya, *people*, 215, 233-35
Kṣemagupta, *king*, 234
Kṣemendra, *author*, 248
kṣetra, 'holy place'. 221
kṣetra, 'sphere of influence'. 5, 8, 11,
Kṣetrasamāsa, *work*, 249
Kṣiprā, *river*. 46 note, 50 note, 54 note, 55 note
Kṣīrasvāmin, *author*, 210
Kṣitīśavaṁśāvalīcarita, *work*, 1 note
kṣmāpati-vṛnda-sevita, *epithet*, 1 note
Kṣudra, Kṣudraka, *people*, 23 and note

Kṣupaṇa, *people*, 36 note
Kubhā, *river*, 41 note
Kūḍalūr, *locality*, 191
Kugatha, *people*, 62 note
Kuhaka, Kuhika, *people*, 27 note
Kuhu, *people*, 61 and note
Kuhu, Kuhū, *same as* Kabul, *river*, 39 note, 41 and note, 43 note, 57 note, 61 note
Kuki, *people*, 102
Kuknūr, *village*, 200-01
Kuknūr-30, *district*, 200
Kukura, *people* and *country*, 60 and note, 213-15
Kukkuṭa, *people*, 27 note
Kula mountain, 188-89
Kulait, *territory*, 22 note
Kulaputra, *epithet*, 218
Kulata, Kulattha, *people*, 60 note
Kulinda, *people*, 24 note
Kulīya, *people*, 32 note
Kūlū valley, 24 note, 27 note
Kulūta, *people*, 27 and note
Kulya, *people*, 22 and note, 29
kulyavāpa, *land-measure*, 217 note, 218
Kumaon hills, 40 note, 100
Kumāra, *people*, 29 and note, 30 note, 65 note
Kumāra-dvīpa, Kumārī-dvīpa, *a Division of Bhāratavarṣa*, 178
Kumāragupta I, *Gupta king*, 4, 218
Kumārasambhava, *work*, 195
Kumāravarman, *king*, 144 note
Kumāraviṣṇu, *Pallava king*, 8
Kumārī, *locality*, 172 note
Kumārī, *river*, 54 and note, 55 note, 57 and note
Kumārī-dvīpa, *a Division of Bhāratavarṣa*, 5 note, 20, 30 note
Kumārīpura, *same as* Cape Comorin, *locality*, 5 and note
Kuṁkum-ādri, *locality* or *hill*, 74, 86
Kumudvatī, *river*, 50 and note
Kuṇapa, *people*, 36 note
Kutnala, *people*, 21 note
Kundala, Kuntala, *people*, 31 note
Kuṇḍina, *city*, 153
Kunet, *people*, 24 note
Kuṇinda, *people*, 24 and note, 60 and note
Kuṅkum-ādri, *hill* or *locality*, 74, 86
Kuntala, *country*, 71, 78, 101, 150-51, 153, 155, 156 and note, 157-58, 192
Kuntala, *same as* Karṇāṭa, *country*, 156 and note
Kuntala, *people*, 22 note, 31 and note, 60 note, 153, 156 note, 157-58
Kuntalendra, *epithet*, 156
Kuntalendu, *epithet*, 156
Kuntaprāvaraṇa, *people*, 36 note
Kuntī, *same as* Aśvanadī, *river*, 46 and note
Kunti, *a branch of the Yādavas*, 21 note, 22 and note
Kūpā, *river*, 55 and note
Kupatha, *people* or *locality*, 29 note, 30 note, 36 note, 62 note, 65 and note
Kuraha, *locality*, 244-45
Kūrmācala, *same as* Kumaon, *locality*, 220 note
Kūrmaprastha, *a Tantrik Division of India*, 73, 80-81, 107
Kūrma Purāṇa, *work*, 6, 17, 19, 37 and note, 38 note, 39 and note, 40 note, 41 note, 42 note, 43 note, 45 note, 46 note, 47 note, 48 note, 49 note, 50 note, 51 note, 52 note, 53 note, 54 note, 55 note, 116 note, 179, 188, 226 note
kuroh, same as *krośa*, 244
Kuru, *people* or *country*, 21 and note, 22 note, 37 and note, 63 and note, 79, 102-03
Kuru, *same as* Uttara-Kuru, *people*, 36 and note
Kuru-deśa, *country*, 203
Kuru-jāṅgala, *country* or *people*, 21 note
Kurukṣetra, *locality*, 40 note, 76, 79, 91-92, 102-03, 187, 241
Kurumina, *people*, 32 note
Kuśa, *Ikṣvāku king*, 212
Kuśa, *territory*, 164 note
Kuśa-dvīpa, *a Division of Bhāratavarṣa*, 160-61, 163 note, 164
Kuśalya, *people*, 21 note, 22 and note
Kuṣāṇa, *dynasty*, 227, 233
Kuśaprāvaraṇa, *people*, 36 note, 66 note
Kuśasthala, *same as* Kānyakubja, *city*, 242 note, 243 and note
Kusaṭṭa, *people*, 22 note
Kuśāvatī, *city*, 212 and note
Kuśeruka, *people*, 26 note
Kush, *country*, 164
Kushiya, *people*, 164
Kuśī, *same as* Kauśikī, *river*, 221
Kuśika, *people*, 65 and note
Kuśīnagara, *locality*, 29 note
Kusinārā, *locality*, 206
Kuśūdra, *people*, 21 note
Kusuma, *people*, 29 note
Kutch, *territory*, 33 note, 101, 104, 106
Kuthaprāvaraṇa, *people*, 36 note, 66 and note
Kutya, *people*, 29 note

Lāḍa, *Prakrit form of* Lāṭa, *country*, 203

Laḍahacandra, *Candra king*, 126
Laga Tūrmān (Toramāṇa), *Śāhi king*, 233
Laghmān, *same as* Lampāka, *country*, 26 note
Laghu-Kauṅkaṇa, *country*, 202
Lahore, *city*, 43 note, 233
Lajjā, *river*, 48 and note
Lakhisarai (Luckeeserai), *locality*, 27 note, 83
Lakhmanīa, *same as* Lakṣmaṇasena, *Sena king*, 166
Lakhnautī (Gauro or Gaur), *city*, 110, 123 note, 129, 166
Lakhnautī (Gauḍa), *province*, 126, 129, 169, 170 and note
Lakṣmadeva, *Paramāra king*, 7
Lakṣmaṇa, *Ikṣvāku prince*, 247
Laksmaṇarāja, *Kalacuri king*, 132
Lakṣmaṇasena, *Sena king*, 110, 165-66, 168-69, 228, 239
Lakṣmaṇāvatī, *same as* Lakhnautī, *city*, 110
Lakshmīdhara, *author*, 150
Lāla, *same as* Rāḍha, *territory*, 137
Lalita, *people*, 24 note
Lalitāditya, *king*, 234-35
Lalitāmukha, *locality*, 82
Lalitavistara, *work*, 119
Lalliya Śāhi, *king*, 232-35
Lambagā, *same as* Lampāka, *locality*, 43 note
Lambakarṇa, *people*, 92
Lamghān, *locality*, 43 note, 232
Lampāka, *people* and *country*, 26 and note, 43 note, 61 and note, 235
Lāṅgalinī, Lāṅgulinī, *river*, 54 and note
Lāṅguliyā, *same as* Lāṅgalinī, *river*, 54 note
Laṅkā, *same as* Ceylon, 137, 213, 247
Laṅkā, *city in Ceylon*, 9
Laṅkā-deśa, Laṅkā-pradeśa, *territory*, 80, 107, 203
Laṅkāpurī, *city in the Swat-Kashmir region*, 103
Lārī (Lāṭī) script, 119
Lāṭa, *country*, 71, 79, 106, 119, 121, 198
Lāṭadeśa-21000, *territory*, 204
Latin language, 130 note
Lauhitya, Lauhityā, Lohityā, *river*, 10 and note, 13, 39 note, 42 and note, 57 note, 115
Lauhitya, *territory*, 184
Lava, *Ikṣvāku prince*, 212
Lavaṇa-samudra, *sea*, 163 note
Lavaṅgasikā, *locality*, 218
Lhāsa, *city*, 249
Likhitasmṛiti, *work*, 226 note
Liṅgodbhava-deśa, *country*, 203
Little Port (Portus Parvus), *identified with* Hooghly, 128 and note
Liverpool, *port*, 128
Loḥajaṅgha, *people*, 32 note
Lōhapura, *same as* Lahore, *city*, 202
Loharānī, *locality*, 44
Lohārgala, *holy place*, 219-20
Lohinī, *river*, 42 note
Lohitā, *river*, 43 note
Lohitya, Lauhitya, *river*, 39 note, 42 and note
Lokapāla, *locality*, 219
Lokaprakāśa, *work*, 248-49
Lokavigraha, *king*, 144
Loricol, *locality*, 170
Luckeeserai (Lakhisarai), *locality*, 194, 195 note, 196
Lūpā, Lūpī, *river*, 46 and note

M

Mācīpura, *probably a mistake for* Kāñcīpura, *country*, 202
Mādalā Pāñjī, *work*, 136, 146-47
Madanapāla, *Pāla king*, 195-96, 198
Madanpāḍā plate, 169
Madanpur, *locality*, 84
Madguraka, Madguruka, *people*, 27 note
Madgurava, *people*, 27 note
Mādhava, *king*, 180 note, 183
Mādhava, *god Viṣṇu at Gaṅgāsāgara*, 181 and note, 182
Mādhavavarman II, *ruler*, 189
Madhukārnava, Madhukāmārṇava, *Kaliṅga prince*, 137
Madhurā, *river*, 39 note
Madhusūdana, *Deva king*, 169
Madhva, *religious teacher*, 86
Madhyadeśa, *country*, 21 note, 22 note, 29 note, 37 and note, 73, 172 and note, 173 note, 212
Madhyadeśīya, Madhyadeśya, *people*, 21 note, 22 and note
Madhyamikā, *city*, 23 note
Madhya Pradesh, 34 note, 35 note, 46 note, 49 note, 55 note, 99, 150-51, 153, 203, 205
Madī, *river*, 45 note
Madra, Madraka, *people* and *country*, 24 and note, 28 note, 71 and note, 79, 105, 186 and note, 189
Madrā, *river*, 50 note
Madrakāra, Mahākāra, *a branch of the Śālvas*, 21 note, 38
Madra-maṇḍala, *wrong name for* Madras State, 189
Madrārāma, *people*, 38 and note
Madras State, 29 note, 52 note, 89, 109, 189
Mādreya, *people*, 21 note
Madurai, *city* and *district*, 29 note, 52 note, 89, 188

Maga, *community*, 164 note
Magadha, *people* or *country*, 18, 22 and note, 29 and note, 37 and note, 63 and note, 71, 78 and note, 79, 99, 102, 138, 172-73, 176, 178, 206
Magadha, Northern, *territory*, 100
Magadha, Southern, *territory*, 100
Māgadha-deśa, *same as* Magadha, *country*, 204
Magadha-lipi, *script*, 119
Magadhapura, Māgadhapura, *city*, 129
Māgadhī language, 18
Magh, *people*, 180
Magi, *priestly class of ancient Iran*, 164 note
Magnā, *same as* Meghnā, *river*, 130 note
Mahābhāṇḍāgārika, *official designation*, 233 note, 234
Mahābhārata, *epic*, 3 note, 6 note, 17, 21 note, 24 note, 27 note, 31 note, 38 note, 47 note, 51 note, 53 note, 54 note, 84, 96, 103, 135 and note, 138, 139 and note, 154, 157, 175, 178 and note, 185, 186 and note, 190, 218, 222, 225-27, 259
Mahābhāṣya, *work*, 66 note, 163 note, 208-09
Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya, *Somavaṁśī king*, 146
Mahācīna, *country*, 71, 77, 97 and note
Mahādeva, *same as* Śiva, *god*, 182
Mahādīpa, *Mahādvīpa*, 'a continent', 9 note
Mahāgaurī, *river*, 51 and note
Mahākāla, *god*, 90
Mahākāra, Madrakāra, *a branch of the Śālvas*, 21 note
Mahākosala, *same as* Kosala, *country* 78, 99
Mahālakshmī, *goddess*, 87
Mahāmleccha, *same as* Mleccha, '*Muslim world*,' 77, 94
Mahāmāyūrī, *work*, 206
Mahārada, Mahānadī, *river*, 47 and note, 48 note, 49 note, 55 note, 57 note, 83, 85, 112, 135, 146 and note, 147 and note, 155
Mahanāra, *village*, 44
Mahānāvika, *designation*, 116
Mahāniddesa, *work*, 206
Mahāpurī, *city*, 78, 99
Mahāpratīhāra, *official designation*, 233 note 234
Mahārāja, *title*, 143, 217
Mahārājādhirāja, *title*, 1, 162
Mahārāṣṭra, *country*, 31 note, 69, 71, 75, 87, 89, 155, 200
Mahārāṣṭra, *people*, 30 and note
Mahārāṣṭra, *a section of the Drāviḍa Brāhmaṇas*, 120 and note
Mahāsādharika, *official designation*, 234 and note
Mahāśaka, *people*, 30 note
Mahāsāndhivigrahika, *official designation*, 233 note, 234
Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I, *Somavaṁśī king*, 196, 199 note
Mahāśivagupta Yayāti III Caṇḍīhara, *Somavaṁśī king*, 146-47
Mahāsthān, *locality*, 28 note, 175
Mahāśvaśālika, *official designation*, 233, note, 234
Mahābhāṇḍāgārika, *official designation*, 233 note, 234
Mahatī, *river*, 45 note
Mahāvagga, *work*, 230 note
Mahāvaṁsa, *work*, 138
Mahāvegā, *river*, 48 note
Mahdeb, *same as* Mādhava *or* Mahādeva, *god*, 182
Mahendra, *Eastern Ghats*, 54 and note, 56 note, 57 and note
Mahendratanayā, *river*, 54 note, 134, 184
Mahendra, *same as* Mahendragiri, *hill*, 10 and note, 13, 14
Mahendrapāla II, *Pratihāra king*, 243 note
Maheśvar, *town*, 49 note, 90, 155
Maheśvara-kuṇḍa, *locality*, 220
Māheya, *people*, 33 and note
Mahī, *river*, 33 note, 45 note, 57, 106, 216
Mahīpāla I, *Pāla king*, 13, 169
Mahīpāla I, *Pratihāra king*, 32 note, 243 note, 244 note
Mahmūd, *Sultān of Ghaznī*, 234
Mahiṣa, *people* and *territory*, 190-92
Mahiṣa, Mahiṣya, *people*, 37, 188-90
Māhiṣaka, *territory*, 157, 190-91
Māhiṣaka, *people*, 30 and note
Mahiṣa-maṇḍala, *same as* Māhiṣaka, *country*, 190
Mahiṣa-viṣaya, *territory*, 30 note, 157, 191
Māhiṣmatī, *city*, 30 note, 35 note, 49 note, 73, 90, 154-55, 173 note, 190, 192, 209, 214
Māhissatī *same as* Māhiṣmatī *city*, 206
Mahiṣūr, *same as* Mysore, *city*, 191
Mahodaya, *same as* Kanauj, *city*, 241-43
Maikal range, 34 note
Maindika, *people*, 31 note
Maināmatī, *locality*, 171
Maithila, *a section of the Gauḍa Brāhamaṇas*, 16, 121
Maithila author, 180-181
Maithilī langauge, 119-20

Maithilī script, 118
Mājaṇaka, *mistake for* Gājaṇaka, *country*, 202
Makkeśa, Makkeśvara, *deity* and *locality*, 77 and note, 81, 95, 108
Makkā, *same as* Mecca, *city*, 80 and note, 107
Makkā, *same as the* Muslim world, 107
Makran, *territory*, 95
Makraṇā, Makruṇā, *river*, 48 note
Makṣaṇā, Makṣuṇā, *river*, 48 note
Mālava, *country* or *people*, 28 note 33 note, 37 and note, 119, 202, 209
Mālava, Eastern, *country*, 91-92
Mālava-9-lakhs-and-92, *country*, 204
Mālavaṇika, *people*, 28 note
Malavartin, Mālavartin, *people*, 28 note
Mālavikāgnimitra, *work*, 153, 208
Māla, *people*, 21 note
Malabar, *territory*, 189
Malacca *territory*, 250
Malada, Mālada, *people*, 28 and note, 33 and note
malai, *Dravidian word for* 'hill', 53 note, 189
Mālaka, *people*, 38 note
Malapa, *people*, 38 note
Malāṭa, *country*, 71
Malay Peninsula, 116
Malaya, *mountain*, 11 and note, 12 and note, 13-15, 53 and note, 56 and note, 184, 188 and note, 189
Malaya, *district*, 189
Mālaya, *people*, 37 note, 38 note
Malayādri, *country* and *mountain*, 71, 75, 89
Malayāla, *country*, 71, 75, 89
Malayāḷam language, 29 note, 189
Malaya-rāja, *title*, 189
Malda, *city* and *district*, 98, 110-14
Malaka, *people*, 22 note
Malkāpuram inscription, 200
Malkhed, *same as* Mānyakheṭa, *locality*, 11, 156, 251-53
Malla, *people*, 29 and note
Mallaka, *people*, 28 and note
Mallakodara, *people*, 25 note
Mallavartaka, *people*, 28 and note
Mallikārjuna, *god*, 88
Mallikārjuna, *prince*, 200
Mallinātha, *commentator*, 7, 124 note, 139, 177, 212
Malloi, *same as* Mālava, *people*, 33 note
Malwa, Mālava, *clountry*, 4, 10-11, 14, 33 note, 37 note, 45 note, 49 note, 69, 71 and note, 76, 87, 121, 199, 243
Malwa, East, *territory*, 34 note, 151, 225
Malwa, West, *territory*, 22 note, 35 note, 92, 106
Malwārī script, 119
Māṁsāda, *people*, 28 note
Man, *locality*, 152
Māna, *dynasty*, 143-45, 159
Māna, *same as* Mānāṅka, *Rāṣṭrakūṭa king*, 152
Māna, *Saka king*, 190
māna-citra, 'map', 246
Mānabhūmi (Mānbhūm), *territory*, 143, 159
Mandāra, *holy place*, 180
Māna-deśa, *territory*, 152, 159
Mānāṅka, *Rāṣṭrakūṭa king*, 152-53, 155, 159
Mānapura, *city*, 152, 159
Mānasa, Mānasa-sarovara (Mānsarovar), *lake*, 96-97, 109
Manasā, *snake goddess*, 195 note
Mānaśesa, *deity* and *locality*, 77, 81, 96, 109
Mānasodbheda, *holy place*, 219
Mānbhūm, Mānabhūmi, *territory*, 54 note, 55 note, 84, 114, 143-45, 159
Mānada, *people*, 28 note
Mandagā, *river*, 54 and note
Mandākin, *same as* Mandākinī, *river*, 47 and note
Mandākinī, *river at Gaṅgāsāgara*, 181 and note
Mandākinī, *river*, 57 note
Maṇḍala, *people*, 37 note
maṇḍala, 'district', 168-69, 205
Mandara, *mythical mountain*, 9, 13, 184
Mandasor inscription, 10
Mandavāhinī, *river*, 54 and note
Māṇḍavya, *people*, 27 note
Māndhātā, *locality*, 35 note, 49 note, 90, 155
Maṇḍū, *locality*, 244
Maṅgalakavara, *people*, 60 note
Mangalore, *town*, 32 note
Māṇighapura-caturāsikā, *group of villages*, 199
Māṇikacandra-rājār Gān, *work*, 127 note
Maṇipur, *locality*, 102
Mañjīrā, *same as* Vañjulā, *river*, 52 note
Mañjulā, *river*, 48 and note
Mankatha, *locality*, 194
Manoramā, *river*, 45 note
Mānsarovar, *lake*, 96
Manu, *law-giver*, 3 note, 14, 99
Manusmṛiti, *work*, 103, 142, 143 note, 173
Mānyakheṭa, *city*, 11, 251-52
Marada, *people*, 61 note
Marāil, *village*, 195 note
Marāṭhā country, 30 note, 87, 90, 155-56
Marāṭhā country, Northern, 225
Marāṭhā country, Southern, 152-53, 155, 157, 159

Marāṭhī, *language*, 87
Marco Polo, *European traveller*, 127 note, 250
Mārgava, *people*, 28 note
Mārjāra-tīrtha, *locality*, 75, 87
Mārkaṇḍa, *river*, 40 note
Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, *work*, 5 note, 8 note, 17, 19, 20, 21, and note, 22 note, 23 note, 24 note, 25 note, 26 note, 27 note, 28 note, 29 note, 30 note, 31 note, 32 note, 33 note, 34 note, 35 note, 36 note, 37 note, 39 and note, 41 note, 42 note, 43 note, 45 note, 46 note, 47 note, 48 note, 49 note, 50 note, 51 note, 52 note, 53 note, 54 note, 55 note, 95, 101 note, 188, 213 note
Marmaka, *people*, 21 note
Maroundae, *people*, 175
Martyagaṅgā, *river*, 57 note
Maru, *territory* or *people*, 12 and note, 26 note, 38 note, 71, 75, 78-79, 91, 93, 101, 103, 215
Māruka, Maruka, *people* or *country*, 38 and note
Marudvṛdhā, *river*, 57 note
Marwar, *country*, 12, 26 note
Māṣa, *people*, 34 note
Maṣaka, *people*, 22 note
Masalia, *territory*, 151
Maski, *village*, 190-91
Masulipatam District, 151
Mataṅga, *sage*, 247
Mātaṅga, *people*, 28 note
Mātaṅga, *locality*, 220
Mathanadeva, *ruler*, 162
Māṭhara, *people*, 24 note
Māṭhara-Kauṇḍinya-nyāya, 157
Mathurā, *city* and *district*, 21 note, 22 note, 80, 102, 106-08, 162, 224
Mātṛgupta, *poet*, 238
Matsya, *people* and *country*, 21 note, 22 and note, 63 and note, 71, 79, 93, 105
Matsya-deśa, *country*, 105
Matsya Purāṇa, 3 note, 17-19, 21 and note, 22 note, 23 note, 24 note, 25 note, 26 note, 27 note, 28 note, 29 note, 30 note, 32 note, 33 note, 34 note, 35 note, 36 note, 37 note, 39 and note, 40 note, 41 note, 42 note, 43 note, 45 note, 46 note, 47 note, 48 note, 49 note, 50 note, 51 note, 52 note, 53 note, 54 note, 55 note, 57, 58 note, 59 note, 60 note, 61 note, 62 note, 63 note, 64 note, 65 note, 66 note, 67 note, 188, 226
Matsya-śilā, *holy place*, 220
Maudgalya, Mudgala, *gotra*, 143
Maulapattana, *locality*, 98, 114
Maulika, Maulaka, *people*, 30 and note
Maukhari, *dynasty*, 116, 135
Maunika, *people*, 30 note
Maurya, *dynasty*, 3, 134, 138, 172-73, 176, 229
Māyā, *holy place*, 224
Māyā-kṣetra, *holy place*, 81, 108
Māyāpura, *locality*, 79, 81, 106, 108
Mayapur pass, 106
Mayūravarman, *king*, 153
Mayurbhanj District 144 note, 159
Mecca, *holy place*, 95, 107-08
Medapāṭa, *same as* Mevāḍa, *country*, 202
Meerut, *district* and *town*, 21 note, 103, 107-08
Mega, *a mouth of the Ganges*, 174
Meghadūta, *work*, 150 note
Meghnā, *river*, 84, 97, 123, 125 note, 128-29
Mehār plate, 169
Meharauli inscription, 10, 184-85
Mekala, *people*, 33, 34 note
Mekong, *river*, 59 note
Meṇḍhapatha, *locality* or *pass*, 66 note
Mersey, *a synonym for* Liverpool, 128 note
Meru, Sumeru, *mythical mountain*, 9 note
Meruvara, *locality*, 219
Meṣikā-grāma, *village*, 193
Methora, *same as* Mathurā, *city*, 102
Mevāḍa, Medapāṭa, *country*, 202
Mewār, *country*, 162
Mhow, *locality*, 46 note
Midnapur District, 1, 34 note, 57 note, 140-41, 176-77
Mien, *same as* Burma, 127 note
Mihirakula, *Hūṇa king*, 101
Mihran, *river*, 44
Milindapañha, *work*, 66 note
Minhāj, Minhājuddīn, *Muslim historian*, 165-67, 169, 170 and note
Minor Rock Edict of Aśoka, 3, 6
Mirzapur District, 198
Mitākṣarā, *work*, 10
Mirziyarat, *locality*, 26 note, 231
Mithilā, *city* and *territory*, 28 note, 120
Mitraśarman, 234
Mleccha, *same as* Mahā-Mleccha, *country* and *people*, 60 note, 64 note, 76, 94-95, 220
modalavāḍa, 'forēmost village', 200
Mohanāvarta, *locality*, 82, 109
Mohit, 'Encyclopaedia of the Sea', 250
Mollāi, *locality*, 114
Moṅga, *identified with* Mongolia, *country*, 77 and note, 97

Monghyr, *town* and *district*, 27 note, 83, 99, 194-97, 249
Monghyr inscription, 193, 196
Montgomary District, 23 note
Moor (Muhammadan), *people*, 128
Mother-goddess, 195 note
Mount Abu, 33 note
Mount Sudāman, 185
Mount Uśīra, 211
Mrama, *people*, 28 note
Mudakara, *people*, 27 note
Mudga-giri, *same as* Monghyr, *locality*, 27 note 193, 197
Mudgara, Mudgaraka, *same as* Monghyr, *people*, 27 and note
Mudgagiri-viṣaya, *district*, 197
Mudgaka, *same as* Mudgagiri, *locality*, 36 note
Mudrakaraka, *people*, 27 note
Mudgala, Maudgalya, *gotra*, 143-44
Mudrārākṣasa, *work*, 38 note
Mudrāya, *territory*, 164
Mughisuddīn Tughril Khān, *Sultān*, 170
Mughal, *dynasty*, 99, 135 and note
Muhammadan, *community*, 110, 126, 128, 171, 233
Muḥammad Bakhtyār, *ruler*, 165
Mūka, *people*, 22 note
Mukāmbikā, *deity* and *locality*, 75, 89
Mukhalingam, *locality*, 136-38
Mukkana (Trilocana) Kadamba, *mythical ruler*, 153
Muktimatī, *river*, 48 note
Mukundarāma, *poet*, 127 note, 180
Mukuṭā, *river*, 48 note
Mūlaka, *mythical king*, 215-16
Mūlaka, Muḷaka, *country* and *people*, 30 note, 13 note, 154-55, 159, 206, 214, 215 and note, 216
Mūlasarvāstivāda-ekaśatakarma, *work*, 211
Mūlasarvāstivādin, *sect*, 211-12, 215
Mūlasthāna, Mūltān, *city*, 44, 204
Mulastya-viṣaya, Pulastya-viṣaya, *country*, 203
Mulgund inscription, 15
Mūlī, *river*, 54 note
Mūlika, *people*, 30 note
Mūltān, *city* and *territory*, 24 note, 44, 106, 160, 204, 232
Muṇḍaka, *people*, 214
Mun'im Khān, *chief*, 133
Munshiganj, *territory*, 84
Murala, *people*, 32 and note
Muralā, *river*, 32 note
Murshidabad, *town* and *district*, 98, 111-14, 145
Musi, *river*, 29 note
Mūṣika, *people*, 29 and note
Mūṣikāda, *people*, 29 note
Muṣikapatha, *pass* or *locality*, 66 note
Muslim, *community*, 110-15, 123 note, 125 note, 126 and note, 131-32, 170, 232-33, 243
Muslim authors, 146-48
Muslim Bengal, 170
muslin, *a variety of fine cloth*, 175
Muzaffarpur District, 42 note
Mymensingh District, 84, 105, 114
Mysore, *same as* Mahiṣūr, *city*, 191
Mysore State, 3, 11, 30 note, 34 note, 89, 102, 136, 153, 155, 190-92

N

Nābhi, *mythical king*, 3 note
Nadīā, *town* and *district*, 1 note, 114, 165-67
Na-fu-ti O-lo-na-shuen, *king*, 246
Nāga-dvīpa, *a Division of Bhāratavarṣa*, 5 note
Nagara, Nagarahāra, *same as* Jalalabad, *locality*, 235
Nāgara (Nāgarī) script, 118-19
Nagaraśreṣṭhin, *official designation*, 217
Nagari plates, 146
Nagarkot, *locality*, 44
Nagar-seṭh, *official designation*, 217 note
Nāgasāhvaya, *same as* Hastināpura *city*, 6
Nāgpur, *town* and *district*, 151, 153
Naimika, *people*, 31 note
Naimiṣāraṇya, *holy place*, 179 note
Nairṇika *people*, 31 note
Naiṣadha, Niṣadha, *people*, 35 note
Naiṣika, *people*, 31 and note
nakshā, *naqshah*, 'map', 246
Nala, Nalaka, *country* and *people*, 31 and note, 192
Nālandā plate, 197
Nalapura, *same as* Narwar, *city*, 35 note
Naḷavāḍi, *territory*, 192
Nalinī, *river*, 52 note, 58 and note, 59 note, 65 note, 67 and note
Nanda, *dynasty*, 138, 172-73, 176
Nandaṇā, *river*, 47 note
Nander District, 154, 158, 253
Nāndīkaṭa, *locality*, 154
Nandinī, Nandanā, *river*, 45 note
Nannappa, *ruler*, 152 note
Nāradīya Purāṇa, *work*, 226 note
Nārada-kuṇḍa, *holy pool*, 220
Narapati, *title*, 81, 107-08
Naoshera, *territory*, 27 note
Narasiṁha, *king*, 243 note
Naravana grant, 152
Narendrayaśas, *author*, 70

Naremdu, *mistake for* Varendra, *country*, 202
Nārīkavaca, *surname*, 215
Nārāyan, Nārāyaṇa, *town*, 162
Nārāyaṇa, *god*, 162, 195
Narayaṇapāla, *Pāla king*, 127 note
Narbadā, Nerbudda, *same as* Narmadā, *river*, 47 note
Narmadā, *river*, 14, 15, 30 note, 32 note, 35 note, 45, 47 and note, 49 note, 56 and note, 57 note, 87, 90, 104, 154-55, 192, 200, 209
Narwar, *locality*, 35 note
Nasik, *town* and *district*, 23 note, 30 note, 32 note, 87, 91, 104, 106, 214, 258
Nāsikānta, *people*, 32 note
Nāsikya, *people*, 32 and note, 213
Nāṣiruddīn, *ruler*, 121 note
Nāṣiruddīn Bughra Khān, *ruler*, 170
Nāṭyaśāstra, *work*, 117, 143
Nausāri, *locality*, 106
Nausari-Bharoch region, *same as* Lāṭa, 202-03
Navadvīpa, *locality*, 86, 114, 165
nava-khaṇḍa, 'nine Sub-Divisions of India', 201, 249
Navarāṣṭra, *people* or *country*, 30 note
Navasāhasāṅkacarita, *work*, 32 note
Navasārikā (Nausāri), *locality*, 106
Nāvya, *district*, 125 and note, 126
Nawābs of Arcot, 90
Nayacandra-sūri, *author*, 124
Nellore District, 29 note, 85, 150
Nemad (Nimar) District, 190
Nemi-maṇḍala, *country*, 67 note
Nepal, Nepāla, *country*, 42 note, 71 and note, 77, 97, 99, 109, 126 note, 201, 221-23, 239, 248
Nepalese script and language, 118
Nepalese Tarai, 28 note
Nerbudda, *same as* Narmadā, *river*, 47 note
Nesari, *locality*, 124 note
Newuj, *same as* Nirvindhyā, *river*, 50 note
Nīca, *people*, 213
Niddesa, *work*, 66 note
Nīgarhara, *people*, 36 note
Nīhāra, *people*, 36 note
Niḥsvarā, *river*, 39 note, 42 note
Nīlā, *river*, 39 note, 40 note
Nilāb, *river*, 40 note
Nīlakaṇṭha, *author*, 49 note
Nīlamukha, *people*, 64 note
Nīlaparvata, *hill*, 74, 86-87
Nīlapura, *locality*, 202
Nīlotpalā, *river*, 48 note
Nimar District, 35 note, 49 note, 90, 155
Nirāhāra, *people*, 36 and note
Nirugundagi-12, *district*, 199
Nirukta, *work*, 229
Nirvindhyā, *same as* Newuj, *river*, 50 and note, 56 and note, 57 note
Niṣāda, *people* and *country*, 64 and note
Niṣadha, Naiṣadha, *country* and *people*, 35 and note, 215
Niṣadhā, Niṣadhāvatī, *river*, 50 and note
Niścalā, *river*, 42 note
Niścīrā, *river*, 39 note, 42 and note, 43 note
Nivṛti, *territory*, 93, 98, 114, 217
Nīvṛt-maṇḍala, *territory*, 201
Nizamabad District, 31 note, 154, 158, 204 note
Noakhali District, 168-69
Northerner, *a people according to the classification of the grammarians*, 209
North Kanara District, 11, 153, 155
North India, *conceived as a* Cakravarti-kṣetra, 14-16, 121-22
North-Western Province, 121 note
North-West Frontier, 191
Nowgong District, 236
Nṛkaṭṭa, *person*, 195
Nūdiā, *locality*, 165
Nūr, *river*, 43 note

O

Oḍḍī-visaa, *same as* Orissa, 134
Oḍḍiyāna-deśa, *country*, 202
Oghavatī, *river*, 46 note, 57 note
Ohdhong Ghaut, *locality*, 222
Odiśa, *same as* Orissa, 134-44
Oḍi-visā, *same as* Orissa, 134
Oḍra, Uḍra, *people*, 134, 142
Oḍra, *same as* Orissa, 134
Ongodu grant, 8
Oṅkār Māndhātā, *locality*, 190
Oriental, *a people according to the classification of grammarians*, 209
Orissa State, 16, 30 note, 34 note, 47 note, 48 note, 50 note, 51 note, 53 note, 55 note, 83-84, 98, 99, 108, 114-16, 118, 123 note, 127, 134, 145, 147-48, 149 note, 152, 159, 166, 170 note, 172-73, 179, 182, 198-99 note, 203
Oriya language, 117, 119-20, 142
Oriya people, 134, 137
Oriya script, 118
Ortelius, *author*, 130 note
Ossadioi, *same as* Vasāti, *people*, 62 note
Oudh, Ayōdhyā, *city* and *territory*, 99
Ovington, *author*, 127, 129, 130 note
Oxus, *river*, 7, 10, 13, 25 note, 26 note, 37 note, 42 note, 59 note, 60 note, 163-64, 184

Oxydrakai, *same as* Kṣudraka, *people*, 23 note
Ozene, *same as* Ujjain, 250

Padampawaya, *same as* Padmāvātī, *locality*, 242
Padampur, Padmapura, *locality*, 153, 242-43
Pādatāḍitaka-bhāṇa, *work*, 38 note
Padgama, *people*, 35 note
Padha, *people*, 35 note
Padmā, *river*, 98, 112, 114, 123, 128 note, 179, 237
Padmā-Meghnā estuary, 174
Padmapura, *locality*, 153, 242
Padma Purāṇa, *work*, 17, 35 note, 226 note, 241 and note, 244
Pādonalakṣa, *territory*, 204 note
Pahlava, Pahnava, *people*, 23 and note, 24 note, 25 note, 61 and note
Pain, Paingaṅgā, *river*, 50 note
Paisuni, *same as* Parsaroni, *river*, 47 note
Paithan, *locality*, 30 note, 154-55, 159, 215
Paiṭhinasi, *author*, 172 note
Pākistan, *country*, 115
Pakistan, East, 87, 97, 104, 123, 171
Pakistan, West, 61 note, 191
Pakṣabāhu, Yakṣabāhu, *country*, 204
Pāla, *dynasty*, 1, 12-13, 98, 111-12, 123, 124 note, 127, 133 note, 193-97, 225, 230
Palāsirī, Palāśinī, *river*, 54 note, 55 and note
Palembang, *same as* Śrīvijaya, *locality*, 28 note
Pali language, 18, 33 note, 206-07
Pali literature, 5 note, 9 note, 154
Palibothra, *same as* Pāṭaliputra, *city*, 138
Paliyā, *people*, 104
Pallava, *dynasty*, 150
palli, 'village', 205 note
Pāṁbīpura, *country*, 202
Pāṁḍu-viṣaya, Pāṇḍya-viṣaya, *territory*, 202
Pampā, *lake*, 247
Pampa-Bhārata, *work*, 243 note
Pampur, *locality*, 86
Pānāṭa, *country*, 71
Pānavīya, *people*, 27 note
Pañca-Drāviḍa, *'five sections' of South Indian Brāhmaṇas*,' 16, 120
Pañca-Gauḍīya, *community*, 121
Pañcakoṭ, Pañcakūṭa, *locality*, 84
Pañcāla, *chief*, 15
Pañcāla, Pañcālaka, *people*, 21 and note, 22 and note, 63 and note, 71, 76, 79, 92-94, 99, 102-03
Pañcāla, Northern, *same as* Rohilkhand, *territory*, 92
Pañcamahāśabda, *five official designations*, 233 note, 234
Pañcanada, *meeting place of five rivers in the Punjab*, 44
Pañcanada, *country*, 185-87
Pañcarūpā, *river*, 39 note
Pañca-saraḥ, *holy pool*, 219-20
Pañcaśikha, *holy place*, 219
Pañchīr, *river*, 43 note
Pāṇḍava, *family*, 7
Pandharpur, *locality*, 159
Pandouoi, *same as* Pāṇḍava, *people*, 94
Pāṇḍu, Pāṇḍya, *country*, 71, 76, 79 note, 93, 105, 204
Pāṇḍuraṅgapallī, *locality*, 159
Pandurangapalli grant, 152-53
Pāṇḍya, *people* and *country*, 7, 29 and note, 37, 76 note, 79, 89, 188, 191 note
Pāṇḍya, *same as* Pāṇḍu, *country* and *people*, 105
Pāṁgudeśa, *same as* Pāṇḍudeśa, *country*, 204
Pāṇika, *people*, 30 note
Pāṇini, *grammarian*, 66 note, 111, 209 and note, 210
Panjshir, *river*, 43 note
Pao-yun, Chinese name of the *Ratnagarbha-sūtra*, 228
Pāpapramocana, *holy spot*, 220
Parā, Pārā, *river*, 39 note, 43 note, 46 and note
Pārada, *same as* Parthian, *people*, 24 and note, 61 and note, 63 note
Paraitakene, *same as* Purandhra, *people*, 23 note
Parākṣara, *people*, 32 note
Paramabhaṭṭāraka, *title*, 143-44
Paramāra, *dynasty*, 7, 11, 15, 32 note, 121-22, 199 and note
Paramatthajotikā, *work*, 213
Parās, *same as* Palāśinī, *river*, 55 note
Pārasīka, *people*, 7, 13, 38 and note, 71, 184
Paraskara, *people*, 32 note
Paraspatikā *locality*, 218
Pārata-70000, *territory*, 204
Pārāyaṇa, *work*, 154, 206-07, 209, 213-14, 216
Pareta, *people*, 24 note
pargana, *territorial division*, 167
Pāripātra, *mountain* and *country*, 38 note, 46 note, 55 note
Parita, Pareta, *people*, 24 note
Pāriyātra, *mountain* and *people*, 14, 35 note, 38 and note, 43 note, 46 and note, 55 and note, 172 note

Parlakimedi, *locality*, 54 note
Parṇabhūmika, *people*, 65 note
Parṇāśā, *river*, 43 note, 45 and note
Parsaroni, *river*, 47 note
Partabgarh inscription, 243 note
Parthian, *people*, 24 note
Parvān, *locality*, 43 note
parvata-maru, 'mountainous steppes', 67 and note
Pārvatī, *goddess*, 72, 195
Pārvatī, *river*, 46 note
Pāsāṇaka-cetiya, *Buddhist religious establishment*, 206
Pāsarī, *river*, 51 note
Paścād-deśa, *territory*, 57 note, 73, 173 note
Pāścātya, *territory*, 172 and note
Pāścāty-ācala, *mythical mountain*, 12 and note, 13
Pāśinī, *river*, 55 note
Paṭaccara, *people*, 21 and note, 22 and note
Pāṭaliputra, *city*, 47 note, 100, 193, 208
Patañjali, *grammarian*, 66 note, 163 note, 208
patha, 'pass', 207
pathaka, 'sub-district', 205
Patheśvara, *people*, 21 note
Patiakella, *locality*, 143
Patiala, *territory*, 233
Patiṭṭhāna, Pratiṣṭhāna, *city*, 206, 214-15
Patna, *city* and *district*, 22 note, 42 note, 47 note, 95, 99-100, 119, 138, 193-94, 197
Patna, *locality in Orissa*, 135, 146
pattalā, 'district', 198, 199 note
pattana, 'town', 201
Paṭṭikerā, *locality* 169
Paṭu, *people*, 35
Paudanya, *same as* Bodhan, *city*, 31 note, 154, 158
Pauṇḍra, *people*, 28 and note, 37 note
Pauṇḍravardhana, Puṇḍravardhana, *district*, 115
Paunika, *people*, 30 note
Paurava, Puru, *same as* Poros, *king*, 94
Paurika, *people*, 30 and note
Pāvā, *locality*, 206
Pāvanī, *river*, 45 note, 58 and note, 59 note, 65 and note, 67 note
Payasvinī, *river*, 57 note
Payoṣṇī, *river*, 50 and note, 56 and note, 57 note
Payoṣṇikā, *river*, 56 note
Peddavegi, *locality*, 135
Pegu, *same as* Cheen, *territory*, 96
Pehoa, *locality*, 40 note
Periplus [*of the Erythraean Sea*], *work*, 106, 138-40, 151, 152 note, 174-75
Persia, *country*, 95-96, 164 and note
Persian emperors, 164
Persian (old) inscriptions, 163-64
Persian language, 131 note
Persian writers, 167
Persian, *same as* Pārasika *or* Pahlava, *people*, 7, 24 note, 38 note, 163, 250
Perso-Arabic script, 168
Peshawar, *city* and *district*, 24 note, 26 note, 44, 102, 231-32, 235
Peshwā, *official designation*, 87
Phulbari, *locality*, 217
Pīḍika, *people*, 26 note
Pi-lo-mo-lo, *same as* Bhinmāl, *city*, 161
Pīna, *people*, 25 note
Pippalā, Pippalī, Pipvalā, Pippalaśroṇī, *river*, 47 and note
Piśābikā, *river*, 48 note
piśāca, 'demon', 186
Piśācikā, *river*, 47, 48 note
Piṣṭapura, *same as* Pithapuram, *city*, 134-35
Pitāmaha, *same as* god Brahman, 118
Pithapuram, *locality*, 134-35, 227
pītha-sthāna, 'holy place', 84
Pitṛsomā, *river*, 53 note
Plakṣa-dvīpa, *an Island Continent according to Puranic conception*, 163 note
Plavaṅga, *people*, 28 note
Pliny, *author*, 135 note
Pluṣṭa, *people*, 36 note
Podaniya, *same as* Paudanya, *city*, 154
Poros, *same as* Puru *or* Paurava, *king*, 94
Porto Grande, *Great Port*, 128
Porto Pequeno, *Little Port*, 128
Portugese, *people*, 123, 127, 128 and note, 129-30, 180
Portuguese pirates, 237
Portus Mangnus, *Great Port*, 128 and note
Portus Parvus, *Little Port*, *identified with* Sātgāon, 128 and note
Potali, Potana, Potaṇi, *same as* Paudanna, *city*, 154
Prabala-pratāp-ānvita-rājādhiraja, *epithet*, 1
Prabhāsa, *holy place*, 225
Prabhāsa-Sarasvatī, *same as* Raunakshi, *river*, 44
Prabhāvatīguptā, *Vākāṭaka queen*, 150
Pracaṇḍapāṇḍava, *work*, 32 note
Prācya, same as *Prasii*, *people* and *territory*, 172-73
Prācya-deśa, *territory*, 29 note, 37 note, 73
pradeśa, 'province', 239
pradeśa-cakravartin, 'ruler of a portion of a *Dvīpa*', 5 note
Prāgjyotiṣa, *people* or *country*, 7, 13, 27 note, 28 and note, 96, 173, 258

Prajāpati, *god*, 186
Prajñāpanā, *Jain work*, 140, 177
Prākṛtānuśāsana, *work*, 120 note, 239
Prakrit language, 18-19, 207
Prāleyādri, *same as* Himālaya, *mountain*, 12 and note
Prang, *locality*, 26 note, 231
Prāṇhitā, *river*, 50 note
Prāntapāla, *official designation*, 235 note
Prāṇūna, *people*, 32 note, 178
Prasii, same as *Prācya*, *people*, 138, 172-73
Prasravaṇa, *mountain range*, 247
Prasthala, *people* and *country*, 26 and note
prastha, 'a Tantrik Duvision of India' 107
Prathama, *people*, 22 note
Prathama-Kāyastha, *official designation*, 217
Prathama-Kulika, *official designation*, 217
Prathaṅga, *people*, 28 note
Pratīcya, *Western Division of India*, 151 note
Pratihāra, *dynastry*, 32 note, 101, 241, 243 and note
pratijāgaraṇaka, same as *pargana*, 199
Pratiṣṭhāna, *city*, 154, 209, 215 and note
Prativaiśya, *people*, 25 note
Pravaṅga, *people*, 28 and note
Pravijaya, *locality* and *people*, 28 and note
Prayāga, *holy place*, 33 note, 172, 173 and note, 179 note, 181, 225, 241, 244-45
Priṣaka, *people*, 64 note
Priyadarśana, *Yakṣa*, 206
Priyalaukika, *people*, 25 note
Proto-Bengali script, 118-19
Pṛṣadhra, *people*, 28 note
Pṛthivīvigraha, *ruler*, 141, 144
Pṛthūdaka, *locality*, 73, 173 and note
Pseudostomon, *a mouth of the Ganges*, 174
Ptolemy, *Greek geographer*, 40 note, 52 note, 66 note, 94, 106, 112, 138-39, 140, 152 and note, 174-77, 250
Pulakeśin II, *Cālukya king*, 200
Pulastya-viṣaya, Mulastya-viṣaya, *territory*, 203
Puleya, *people*, 32 and note
Pulika, *people*, 60 note
Pulinda, Pulindaka, *people* and *country*, 21 note, 24 note, 30 and note, 32 note, 63 and note, 71, 79, 95, 103-05
Pulindra, *same as* Pulinda, 30 note
Puḷumāyi, *Sātavāhana king*, 214-15
Puṁsavana, *rite*, 178
Punch, *territory*, 27 note
Puṇḍeśvarī, *deity*, 195
Puṇḍra, *people* and *country*, 28 note, 29 note, 32 note, 37 and note, 98, 114-15, 135, 139, 175, 178
Puṇḍranagara, Puṇḍravardhana, *city*, 28 note
Puṇḍravardhana, *city*, 28 note, 156, 174-75, 217, 222
Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti, *district*, 191 note, 218
Puṅgala, Yugala, *country*, 203
Punjab State, 16, 22 note, 27 note, 33 note, 37 note, 40 note, 41 note, 44, 93, 101-03, 105, 161, 158, 185, 189, 204, 209, 231, 239
Punjab, Eastern, 33 note, 37 note 40 note, 92, 103, 106, 121, 233
Punjab, Western, 27 note
Puṇyatara, *author*, 211
Puṇyavardhana, *mistake for* Puṇḍravardhana, *territory*, 115
Puṇyavatī, *river*, 53 note
Pūraṇavṛndikahari, *locality*, 218
Purandhra, *people*, 23 note
Purāṇic cosmography, 19
Purāṇic geography, 19
Purasāhaṇaka, *country*, 201
Purchas, *author*, 127, 129 note
Puri District, 30 note, 34 note, 83-84, 108, 134, 141-42, 145-46, 152, 179, 198
Purī, *same as* Puruṣottamapurī, *town*, 30 note, 84, 100, 165-67, 178
Puriddha-10, *district*, 199
Purigere-1000, *district*, 199
Purnea, *town* and *district*, 112, 221
Purshāvar, *same as* Peshāwar, *town*, 43 note, 232
Puru, Paurava, *same as* Poros, *king*, 94
Puru, *people*, 94
Puruṣapura, *same as* Peshāwar, *town*, 233, 235
Puruṣottama, *author*, 17, 120 note, 239
Puruṣottama, *ruler*, 169
Puruṣottama, Puruṣottamapurī, *same as* Purī, *town*, 177-78, 181
Pūrva-deśa, *territory*, 37 and note, 57 note, 73, 119, 173 and note
Pūrv-ādri, *mythical mountain*, 12 note
Pūrvavideha, *Mahādvīpa*, 9 note
Pushkar, Puṣkara, *locality*, 34 note
Puṣkala, *people*, 26 note
Puṣkalāvataka, *people* 26 note
Puṣkalāvatī, Puṣkarāvatī, *city*, 24 note, 26 note, 62 note, 231
Puṣkara, *people*, 60 note
Puṣkara, *a Continent according to Puranic conception*, 163 note, 178

Puṣpavatī, *river*, 53 note
Pustapāla, *official designation*, 217
Puṣyamitra, *Śuṅga king*, 208
Pyri, *river*, 48 note

Q

Quilon, *town*, 85

R

Rāḍha, Rāḍhā, *country*, 1 and note, 2, 114, 123 note, 129, 137-38, 170 note, 176, 191 note
Raghu, *king of Ayodhyā*, 6, 7, 10 note, 139, 176, 249
Raghu-kula, 'family of Raghu', 10 note
Raghuvaṁśa, *work*, 6-7, 38 note, 42 note, 124 and note, 138-40, 176, 212 and note
Rahab, *same as* Rāmgaṅgā, *river*, 45
Rahma, *identified with* Ramu, *locality*, 127 note
Raichur District, 34 note
Raigarh, *locality*, 55 note
Rāi Lakhmania, *same as* Lakṣmaṇasena, *king*, 165
Raipur District, 34 note, 99, 203, 212
Rājabhadraka, *people*, 32 note
Rājagṛha, Rājgir, *city*, 100, 194
Rājagṛha-viṣaya, *district*, 194
Rājanārāyaṇa, *chief*, 1
Rājaśekhara, *author*, 5, 17, 32 note, 73, 158, 173, 204 note, 241
Rajasthan, *territory*, 22 note, 33 note, 103, 105, 161-62, 182, 198, 203, 217 note
Rājataraṅgiṇī, *work*, 8 note, 65 note, 86, 121 note, 232-33, 238
Rajauna, *village*, 194-96
Rajauri, *territory*, 25 note
Rājaurī, Rājyapurī, *locality*, 162
Rājāvarta, *locality*, 81, 108
Rājbaṁśī, *people*, 104
Rājendrachoḷa I, *Choḷa king*, 2, 124, 156 note
Rājgir, *locality*, 95
Rājmahal, *locality*, 112, 237
Rājor-gaḍh, *locality*, 162-63
Rājput clan, 101, 121 note
Rajputana, *territory*, 21 note, 33 note, 160-61, 163, 178
Rajputana desert, 23 note, 26 note
Rajshahi, District 105, 114
Rājyapura, *city*, 162
Rājyavardhana *Puṣyabhūti king*, 113
Rakṣas, *people*, 2 and note
Raktamṛttikā, *locality*, 116
Raktamṛttikā-vihāra, *monastery*, 98, 113
Rakshi, *river*, 42 note
Rāl, *same as* Rāḍha, *territory*, 123 note, 170 note
Rāma, *epic king*, 6, 141, 247, 258
Rāmacandra, *Yādava king*, 159
Rāmacarita, *work*, 167
Rāmadurga, *locality*, 75, 90
Rāmagiri, *same as* Rāmtek, *locality*, 95
Rāmaka-deśa *mistake for* Romaka-deśa, 203
Rāma-kṣetra, *locality*, 77, 95
Ramaṇa, *people*, 24 note
Rāmanātha, *locality*, 75, 89
Rāmanātha-maṭha, *religious establishment*, 89
Ramanathapuram (Ramnad) District, 29, note, 89
Ramañña-deśa, *same as* Lower Burma, 127 note
Rāmapāla, *Pāla king*, 111, 167, 195
Rāmasiddhi-pāṭaka, *locality*, 125 note, 126
Ramaṭha, Rāmaṭha, *people*, 24 and note
Rāmautī, *same as* Rāmāvatī, *city*, 111
Rāmāvatī, *city*, 111-12
Rāmāyaṇa, *epic*, 17, 26, note, 58 note, 62 note, 185 and note, 186, 190, 212, 225-27
Rāmeśvara, *deity* and *locality*, 74, 85-86
Rāmeśvara-tīrtha, *locality*, 89
Rāmagaṅgā, *river*, 41 note, 45
Ramiṇa, *people*, 32 note
Raṅkṣu, *river*, 39 note, 42 note
Rāmnagar, *town*, 21 note, 42 note, 92
Rāmtek, *same as* Rāmagiri, *locality*, 95
Rāmu, *locality*, 127 note
Ramyā, *river*, 46 note
Randhrakaraka, *people*, 62 and note
Randhravaraka, *people*, 62 note
Rāṅgāmāṭi, *locality*, 98, 111, 113
Raṅgeya, *people*, 28 note
Rangpur, *town* and *district*, 87, 93, 114, 261
Rantbil, *Rutbil*, possibly the same as *Prāntapāla*, *official designation*, 235 note
Rasā, *river*, 39 note
Rasakāriṇī, *river*, 54 note
Ras Kumhari, *same as* Comorin, 250
Rasita, *people*, 32 note
rāṣṭra, *a territorial division*, 161
Rāṣṭrakūṭa, *dynasty*, 11, 124 note, 152, 155, 157, 159, 192, 198, 202, 243 and note, 251-53
Rāṭa, *dynasty*, 169
Ratanpur, *locality*, 35 note
Raṭarāja, *same as* Raṭṭa-rājya, *i.e.* 'Rāshṭrakūṭa kingdom', 202
Ratnadhāra, *people*, 25 note
Ratnagiri District, 152, 159
Ratnapura-caturāsikā, *district*, 198 note

Ratnavāhinī, *river*, 48 note
Raṭṭapāḍi-seven-and-half-lakhs, *territory* 199
Raṭṭa-rājya, 'Rāṣṭrakūṭa kingdom',202
Raudhra, *people*, 60 note
Raunakshi, *river*, 44
Rāvaṇa-gaṅgā, *river*, 57 note
Rāvī, *river*, 22 note, 33 note, 41 note, 62 note
Ravivarman, *Kadamba king*, 15
Rawalpindi, *town* and *district*, 24 note, 102, 231
Rāy, 'king', 90, 232
Ṛbhupāla, *person*, 217-18, 223
Revā, *same as* Narmadā, *river*, 14 and note, 51 note, 57 note
Rewa, *territory*, 34 note
Ṛgveda, *work*, 225, 229
Ṛkṣavat, *mountain*, 14, 49 and note, 51 note, 56 and note
Rohaka, *people*, 62 note
Rohilkhand, *territory*, 92
Rohmi, *identified with* Rāmu, 127 note
Rokala, *people*, 33 note
Romaka, *people*, 62 and note
Roshan, *locality*, 60 note
Ṛṣabha, *mythical king*, 3 note
Ṛṣabhā, *river*, 50 note
Ṛṣabhadatta, *Śaka chief*, 178
ṛṣi, 'sage', 226, 228
Ṛṣika, *people* and *country*, 31 and note, 64 and note, 158
Ṛṣīkā, *river*, 54 note
Ṛṣikanagara, *city*, 158
Ṛṣikulyā, *river*, 53 and note, 54 and note, 57 and note
Ṛṣyamūka, *hill*, 247
Ṛṣyavanta, *Prakrit form of* Ṛkṣavat, 19
Ṛtukulyā, Ṛtukūlyā, *river*, 53 note
Ṛtumālā, *river*, 52 note
Rudamaua-bayālisī, *district*, 199 note
Ruddhakaṭaka, *people*, 24 and note
Rudok, *locality*, 24 note
Rudradāman, *Śaka king*, 215-16
Rudrasena II, *Vākāṭaka king*, 150
Ruhmi, *identified with* Rāmu, 127 note
Rumā, *locality*, 62 note
Rumaṇa, people, 30 note
Rūmī-maṇḍala, *territory*, 67 note
Rūpā, *river*, 46 note
Rūpaka, *people*, 3 note
Rūpapa, *people*, 32 note
Rūpasa, *people*, 32 and note
Ruṣāṇa, *people*, 60 and note

S

Śābarmatī, *same as* Śvabhravatī, *river*, 32 note, 45 note, 57 note
Śabdakalpadruma, *work*, 179, 231 note
Sadānīrā, *river*, 45 and note
Sadbhāvaśambhu, *Śaiva saint*, 200
Saddānārā, *river*, 45 note
Sadduka, *people*, 67 note
Saduktikarṇāmṛta, *work*, 169
Sagala, *same as* Sākala, *city*, 94
Sagara, *mythical king*, 181
Sāgara, *same as* Gaṅgāsāgara-saṅgama, 140, 177-78, 180 and note
Sāgarasaṅgama, *same as* Gaṅgāsāgara-saṅgama, 180
Sāgar Tāl inscription, 124 note
Sagore, *same as* Gaṅgāsāgara, 182 note, 183 note
Sahalāṭavī-grām-āhāra, *territory*, 205 note
Śāhi, *dynasty*, 232-33, 235
Śāhi-mykhya, 'Śāhi chief', 234 and note
Sāhitya Pariṣad plate, 126
Sahūdaka, *people*, 36 note
Sahya, *mountain*, 23 and note, 53 and note, 56 and note, 257
Śailaṣa, *people*, 29 note
Śailendra, *dynasty*, 28 note
Śailodbhava, *dynasty*, 145-46
Śaimi-maṇḍala, *territory*, 59 note
Saindhava, *people*, 38 note, 62 and note, 71 and note, 80, 106-07
Saindhava script, 119
Sainika, *people*, 26 note
Śaiva-tīrtha, 70
Śaka, Śāka, *people*, 4, 21 note, 24 note, 30 note, 60 and note, 61 and note, 106, 163, 164 and note, 178, 190, 195, 200, 214
Śaka settlement, 163
Śaka-dvīpa, Śāka-dvīpa, *territory*, 106, 163 and note, 164 note
Śākadvīpīya Brāhmaṇa, *community*, 164 note
Śākahrada, *people*, 24 note
Śākala, *same as* Sialkot, *city*, 24 note, 38, 94, 105, 185, 187, 189
Śakambhara, Śākambharī, *city* and *territory*, 14, 204
Śakrarudra, *locality*, 220
Sakastān, *territory*, 163
Sāketa, *city*, 206
Śākhi, *mistake for* Śāhi, *people*, 232 note
Sakheṭaka, *people*, 24 note
Saknāt, *same as* Sankāt *or* Sanknāt, *territory*, 165-69, 171
Sakot Pargana, 167
Sakri, *river*, 48 note
Sakṛtraka, *people*, 36 note
Śakrulī, *river*, 48 note
Śakruṇā, *river*, 48 note
Śākta-pīṭha, 93
Śākta-tīrtha, 70

Śakti hills, 55 note
Sakti, *territory*, 55 note
Śakti, goddess, 87, 90
Śaktipur, *locality*, 228
Śaktisaṅgama Tantra, work, 68-69, 73, 80, 87, 114, 125 note, 126 note
Śakulī, *river*, 48 and note
Śakuṇapatha, *locality* or *pass*, 66 note
Salaha, *person*, 244
Salalavatī, *river* , 212
Śālaṅkāyana, *dynasty*, 135
Salem plates, 152 note
Salila, *people*, 60 note
Salilavatī, *river*, 212
Sallavatī, *river*, 212
Śālmalī-dvīpa, *a Continent according to Puranic conception*, 163 note
Śālmalī, *river*, 185
Salt Range , 62 note
Śālva, *people*, 21 and note, 22 note, 29 note, 38 and note
Sālvaka, *country*, 71
Salween, *river*, 59 note
Śalya, *mythical king*, 186
Samācāradeva, *Gauḍa king*, 116
Samāpā, *city*, 134
Samarkand, *locality*, 24 note
Samārohaṇa, *holy spot*, 229
Samataṭa, Samataṭa-maṇḍala, *territory*, 115, 156, 168-70
Sambalpur District, 99, 203
Sāmbapura, *same as* Mūltān, *city*, 44
Sambhala, *probably a mistake for* Siṁhala, *territory*, 103
Sambhar, *lake*, 161
Śambhuyaśas, *king*, 143-44
Sambodhi, *same as* Mahābodhi *or* Bodhigayā, *holy place*, 178
Saṁgrahaṇī, work, 249
Saṁgrāma, *person*, 238
Saṁjāyu-deśa, *terrtory*, 203
Sammoha Tantra, work, 70
Samparīta, *people*, 33 note
Samrāṭ, title, 4, 5 and note
Saṁsārpokhrī, *tank*, 195 note
Saṁskṛtamañjarī, work, 86
Samtaṭ, Samataṭa, *territory* 168
Samudragupta, *Gupta emperor*, 2, 4, 169, 197, 236
Samūhaka, *people*, 67 note
Saṁyuttanikāya, work, 229
Sanchi, *locality*, 214
Sandabal, Sandabala, *same as* Chandrabhāgā, *river*, 40 note
Śaṇḍaka, *officer*, 217
Sāndhra, *people*, 61 and note
Sandhyākaranandin, *author*, 167
Saṅgat, *Śikh religious establishment*, 195
Sāṅgu, *river*, 130 note
Sanjān, *locality*, 203
Sanjan plates, 124 note
Sañjāta, *mistake for* Śāryāta, *a clan of the Haihayas*, 35 note
Saṅka-koṭa, *locality*, 167
Sankāt, Sankanāt, *territory*, 165-67
Saṅkaṭa-grāma, *locality*, 167
Saṅketa-Mādhava, *deity at Gaṅgāsāgara-saṅgama*, 180
Śaṅkhalikhita *author*, 172 note
Śaṅkhāvarta, *locality*, 81, 108
Sāṅkhya, *system of philosophy*, 181
Sanknāt, *territory*, 165-66, 168
Śaṅkupatha, *locality* or *pass*, 59 note, 66 note
San-Kusi, Sun-Kośī, *river*, 221
Sannavati, *district*, 199 note
Sanskrit language, 16, 18
Santal Parganas District, 54 note, 55 note, 83, 114
Santal, origin of Saknāt-Sankāt-Sanknāt, 168
Śāntikara II, *Bhauma-Kara king*, 143
Śāntipura, *locality*, 98, 114
Saora, *same as* Śabara, *people*, 30 note
Sapādalaksha, *same as* Siwalik range, 100
Sapādalakṣa, *same as* Śākambhara or Śākambharī, *country*, 204 and note
Sapta-dvīpā Vasumatī, 163 and note
Saptagrāma, *city*. 182
Saptakoṭīśvara, *god*, 101
Sapta-Mālava, 37 note
Saptarṣi-kuṇḍa, *holy pool*, 220
Saptāśīti-pratijāgaraṇaka, *territory*, 199
Saptaśṛṅga, *locality*, 79, 81 and note, 106, 108
Saptavatī, *river*, 58 note
Śarabhaṅga, *river*, 220
Śarabhaṅga-kuṇḍa, *holy pool*, 220
Sāradā, *goddess* and *locality*, 81, 86
Śāradā, Śāradā-maṭha, *locality*, 74, 86, 109
Śaradaṇḍa, *a branch of the Śālvas*, 21 note
Saraikala, *locality*, 231
Saraja, *people*, 33 note
Sārasvata, *a section of North Indian Brāhmaṇas*, 16, 121
Sārasvata, *country* and *people*, 33 and note, 43 note
Sarasvatī, Sarsuti, *river in the Panjab*, 16, 21 note, 33 note, 39 and note, 40 note, 41 note, 57 note, 92, 103, 121
Sarasvatī, *river in Gujarāt*, 57 note
Sarasvatī, *river in Bengal*, 112
Śarāvatī, *town*, 211-12
Śarāvatī, *river*, 210-13,
Sarayū, *river*, 39 note, 43 note, 57 note, 77, 97

Sardis, *locality*, 164
Saridvatī, *river*, 51 note
sarkar, *territorial division*, 28 note, 167
Śarkarāvartā, *river*, 57 note
Sarpābhīra, Saptābhīra, *same as* Ābhīra, 71, 76
Sarpiḥ-samudra, 'sea of clarified butter', 163 note
Sarsat, *same as* Sarasvatī, *river*, 43 note
Sarsat, same as Sārasvata, *country*, 43 note
Sarsatī, Prabhāsa-Sarasvatī, *same as* Raunakshi, *river*, 44, 45
Sarsuti, Sarasvatī, *river*, 33 note
Sārthavāha, *official designation*, 217
Sārvabhauma, *people*, 3 note, 4
Sarvakāmikā, *holy spot*, 220
Sarvamūlika, *people*, 61 note
Sarvapṛṣṭhā, *rite*, 178
Sarvaśūlika, *people*, 61 and note
Sarvāvatī, *mistake for* Śarāvatī, 211
Sarveśa-Kerala, *country*, 86
Sarwa, *same as* Sarayū, *river*, 43 note, 45
Śāryāta, *a clan of the Haihayas*, 35 note
Saśaila, *people*, 60 note
Sasan, *person*, 173
Sasanian, *dynasty* 24 note, 160, 173
Sasanidae, '*descendants of*' *Sasan*, 173
Śaśāṅka, *Gauḍa king*, 98, 113, 116, 145, 151
Śaśikhādrika, *people*, 37 note
Ṣaṣṭhavatī, *river*, 57 note
Śātadrava, *people*, 24 note
Śatadru, *river*, 39 note, 40 and note, 43 note, 44, 55 and note, 57 note, 186
Śatadruja, *people*, 24 and note
Śataldar, *same as* Satlej, *river*, 43 note
Śātakarṇi, *king*, 215-16
Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, *work*, 2
Śatapatheśvara, *people*, 21 note
Satara District, 152, 157
Śatarudra, *same as* Satlaj, *river*, 43 note
Sātavāhana, *dynasty*, 14, 18-19, 192
Sātavāhanīy-āhāra, *district*, 192
Sātavāhanīya-rāṣṭra, *district*, 192
Sātgāon, *city* and *territory*, 28 note, 123 note, 126, 128 and note, 129, 166-67
Śāṭhyadhānaka, *people*, 21 note
Satīrā, *river*, 45 note
Satladar, *same as* Śatadru, *river*, 44
Satlaj, *same as* Śatadru, *river*, 22 note, 24 note, 40 note, 43 note,
Saṭpañcāśaddeśavibhāga, *work*, 68-70, 72-73, 114
Satpura, *mountain range*, 34 note
Satrāp, *official designation*, 235 note
Satsantajā, *river*, 48 note
Saṭsura, *people*, 35 note
Sāṭṭihalli-jāripāṭa, *district*, 191
Sattumāna, *people*, 35 note
Sāṭuvan-āśramaka, *locality*, 218
Satyā, *same as* Satyabhāmā, *female name*, 177
Saubhaka, *people*, 26 note
Saugor, *same as* Gaṅgā-sāgara-saṅgama, *locality*, 47 note
Śaulika, *people*, 30 note
Saumi-maṇḍala, *territory*, 67 note
Ṣaumya, *a Division of Bhāratavarṣa*, 5 note
Śauṇḍikera, *people*, 35 note
Śaurasena, *same as* Śūrasena, *country* and *people*, 79 and note, 102, 105-06
Saurāṣṭra, *people* and *country*, 37 and note, 71, 75, 88, 203
Sauśalya, *people*, 21 note
Sausson, *European author*, 127, 130 note
Sauvīra, *people* and *country*, 24 and note, 38 and note, 44, 71, 79, 105-06, 178 and note, 215
Sāva, *river*, 43 note
Śavara, Śabara, *people*, 30 and note, 211, 247
Śavarā, Śabarā, *river*, 54 note
Śavaravatī, Savārāvatī, Śarāvatī, *river*, 211
Savārāvatī, *mistake for* Śarāvatī, 211
Sāvatthi, *same as* Śrāvasti, *city*, 206
Sayaṁbhara, *mistake for* Śākambharī, *country*, 202
Scythia, Indo-Scythia, *Śaka territory*, 106, 163
Scythian, *people*, 163-64
Sea, Eastern, *same as* Bay of Bengal, 184
Sea, Southern, *same as* Indian Ocean, 10-11, 184
Sea, Western, *same as* Arabian Sea 10-11, 184
Sebaka, *dynasty*, 189
Seistān, *territory*, 163, 235 note
Sena, *dynasty*, 98, 110, 165-66, 168, 169 and note, 170
Seonath, *river*, 48 note
Seringapatam, *locality*, 89
Setavya, *city*, 206
Set-Mahet plate, 198
Setu, Setubandha, Setubandha-Rāmeśvara, 'Rama's bridge', *locality*, 9, 10 note, 11 note, 12 and note, 13, 15, 29 note
Setuka, *people*, 29 and note
Seuṇa, *same as* Sevaṇa, *country*, 104
Sevaṇa, *country*, 71, 79, 104-05
Shahabad District, 33 note
Shaharanpur District, 24 note
Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afif, *author*, 148

Shamsuddīn Fīrūz Shāh, *Sulṭān*, 171
Shamsuddīn Ilyas, *Sulṭān*, 126 note
Shan, *people*, 59 note
Sharvat, *river*, 43 note
Shivapuri District, 35 note, 204 note
Shmāhinā, *wrong name of a river*, 43 note
Sholapur District, 159
Shorkot, *same as* Śivapura, *locality*, 61 note
Sialkot, *same as* Śākala, *city*, 24 note, 94, 105, 186 note, 187, 189
Siam, *country*, 59 note
Sidan Pass, 65 note
Siddhamātṛkā script, 119
Siddhapatha, *same as* Sidan *or* Budil Pass, 65 note
Siddhavaṭa, *holy tree*, 220 note
Siddhi-Kerala, *country*, 74, 85
Sidi 'Ali Ben Hosein, *author*, 250
Sidh-Gauṛ, *a section of the Gauḍa-Brāhmaṇas*, 121 note
Sien, *people*, 59 note
Sigana, *people*, 63 note
Śīghrodā, *river*, 50 note
Sīhabāhu, Siṁhabāhu, *king of Ceylon*, 137
Sīhapura, Siṁhapura, *city*, 137
Sijistān, *territory*, 163
Śikhaṇḍin, *Yakṣa*, 206
Śīlā, *river*, 51 note
Śīlahaṭṭa, *same as* Sylhet, *territory*, 71 and note, 77, 79, 97, 103
Silhaṭ, Sil-hāṭ, *same as* Sylhet, *territory*, 167-68
Siṁhala, *country*, 71, 79
Siṁhala, *country in the Punjab-Rajasthan region*, 103, 106
Siṁhala-dvīpa, *same as* Ceylon, *country*, 11 and note, 13, 204
Siṁhamāna, *king*, 143
Siṁhapura, *territory*, 103, 107
Siṁhapura, *city in Kaliṅga*, 137-38
Simla, *locality*, 24 note
Sind, Sindh, *country*, 107-08, 119, 160, 202
Sindh, Sindhu, *same as* Indus, *river*, 43 note, 44, 232
Sindhu, *same as* Indus, *river*, 10 and note, 11 note, 13, 39 and note, 43 note, 57 note, 58 and note, 62 and note, 164 note 172, note, 186, 243
Sindhu, *same as* Kālīsindh, *river*, 45 and note
Sindhu, *people* or *country*, 21 note, 24 and note, 71, 106-07, 164 and note, 178 note, 202, 215
Sindhu-maru, *territory*, 60 note
Sindhurāja, *Paramāra king*, 32 note
Sindhusāgara, *confluence of the Indus and the sea*, 44
Sindhu-Sauvīra, *country*, 172 note
Singhbhum District, 137, 144-45, 159
Singupuram, *locality*, 137
Singur, *locality*, 138
Sinibāhu, Sinībāhu, *river*, 50 and note
Sinībālī, Sinīvālī, *river*, 50 note
Sinībālī, *river*, 50 note
Sinnar, *old capital of the Yādavas*, 104
Śiprā, *river*, 43 note, 45 and note, 50 and note
Sirāj, *city*, 165
Sirāla, *people*, 32 note
Sirhind, *locality*, 232
Sirīndhra, *people*, 60 and note
Sirmur hills, 40 note
Sirsa, *locality*, 40 note
Sirvā, *river*, 50 note
Sītā, *river*, 58 and note, 59 note, 60 and note
Sītā, *Ikṣvāku queen*, 247, 258
Sītākuṇḍa, *holy pool*, 99
Śītāmukha, *locality*, 81
Siterajā, *river*, 48 note
Śitibāhu, *river*, 50 note
Śiva, *god*, 18, 72, 95-97, 180,
Śivā, *river*, 47 note, 50 note, 57 note
Śivā, *village*, 161
Śiva-deśa, *same as* Śibi-deśa, *territory*, 203
Śivakara II, *Bhauma-Kara king*, 198
Śiva-liṅga, 'phallic emblem of Śiva', 95
Śivapaura, *people*, 61 and note
Śivapura, *city*, 61 note
Śiva Purāṇa, *work*, 55 and note, 56 note, 57 note, 188
Śivarāja, *chief*, 143, 152 and note
Śivatattvaratnākara, *work*, 89
Siwalik range, 40 note, 100
Skanda, *deity*, 181 note, 195, 207
Skandagupta, *Gupta king*, 4, 158
Skanda-Kārttikeya, *god*, 181
Skanda Purāṇa, *work*, 120 note, 121, 201, 204 note, 225
Skandavarman I, *Pallava king*, 8
Skandavarman II, *Pallava king*, 8
Skandha, *same as* Skanda, 207
Snake goddess, 195 note
Soan-Kousi, *river*, 222
Sogdian, *same as* Cūlika, *people*, 26 note
Sogdiana, *country*, 44, 164
Śokala, *people*, 34 note
Somābhiṣeka, *holy spot*, 219
Somadatta, *ruler*, 145
Soma-giri, *hill* or *locality*, 219
Sōmanātha, *deity* and *locality*, 88, 108

Soma-tīrtha, *holy spot*, 220
Somavaṁśī, *dynasty*, 147-48, 196, 199 note
Someśvara, *deity* and *locality*, 81, 108
Somnāth, *locality*, 45
Śōṇa, *same as* Sone, *river*, 47 and note, 57 note
Sonārgāon, *city* and *territory*, 123 note, 126, 128 and note, 129 and note, 130 and note, 166-67, 170-71
Sone, *same as* Śoṇa, *river*, 47 note, 48 note
Sonepur, *locality*, 42 note, 55 note, 135, 146
Songāon, *imaginary name of* Sonārgāon, 166
Sopara, *same as* Śūrpāraka, *locality*, 31 note, 203
Sotthivatī, Śuktimatī, *city*, 48 note
Southern Division of India, 173
South India, *conceived as a Cakravarti-kṣetra*, 15
Sparda, *territory*, 164
Śramaṇā, *female name*, 247
Śrāvati, Śrāvatī, *city*, 212 and note
Śrāvasti, Śrāvastī, *city*, 116, 154, 206, 212
Śrīcandra, *Candra king*, 126
Śrīdharadāsa, *author*, 169
Śrīdhāraṇarāta, *king*, 169
Śrīhaṭa, *same as* Śrīhaṭṭa, *territory*, 168
Śrīhaṭṭa, *same as* Sylhet, *territory*, 125 note, 167-68
Śrīkākuḷam, Chicacole, *town* and *district*, 54 note, 134, 136-38, 142
Śrīkaṇṭha, *territory*, 91, 106
Śrīkaṇṭhaka, *territory*, 101
Śrīkṛṣṇakīrtana, *work*, 180
Śrīkuntala, *country* 100-01
Śrī-malaya, Tri-malaya, *hill*, 189
Śrīmanta, *merchant*, 180
Śrīnagar, *city*, 86
Śrīnagara, *same as* Pāṭaliputra, 197
Śrīnagara-bhukti, *province*, 193-94, 196-97
Śrīnagara-viṣaya, *district*, 197
Śrīpur, *port*, 128 note
Śrīraṅga, *locality*, 75, 89
Śrīraṅgapattana, Seringapatam, *locality*, 89
Śrīśaila, *hill*, 75, 88
Śrīvijaya, *city*, 28 and note
Śroṇī, *river*, 47 note
Sthala-kuṇḍa, *holy pool*, 219
Sthāṇunandin, *officer*, 217
Sthavira sect, 212
Stośala, *people*, 34 note
Strīrājya, *country*, 203
Śubhakarasiṁha, *king*, 149 note
Śubhaṅkarasiṁha, *king*, 145
Subrahamaṇya, *deity* and *locality*, 74, 85
Subrahmaṇya-kṣetra, *holy place*, 86
Sucakṣu, Cakṣu, *river*, 58 note
Sudāmā, *river*, 54 note
Sudāman, *hill*, 185
Sudkawan, *same as* Sātgāon, *locality*, 123 note
Śūdra, *people*, 23 and note, 32 note, 37 and note, 213
Śūdrakula, *people*, 25 and note
Sugda, *country*, 164 note
Suhma, *people*, 28 note, 135
Suhma, *same as* Rāḍha, *territory*, 98, 114, 156-57, 191
Suhmottara, *people*, 28 note
Suhūhuka, *people*, 36 note
Sujaraka, *people*, 27 note
Sujāta, *mistake for* Śāryāta, *a clan of the Haihayas*, 35 note
Sukṛśā, *river*, 47 note
Suktel, *river*, 55 note
Śuktimat, *mountain*, 53 note, 54 note, 55 and note, 56 note, 57 and note
Śuktimantī, *same as* Śuktimatī, *river*, 19, 48 note
Śuktimatī, Śuktimantī, *same as* Ken, *river*, 48 and note
Śuktimatī, Sotthivatī, *city*, 48 note
Sukumārī, *river*, 54 note
Sulaiman, *Arab merchant*, 127
Śūlakāra, *people*, 26 note
Śūlika, *people*, 27 note, 61 note
Sultanpur, *locality*, 41 note
Sultanpur-Nandurbar, *district*, 167
Sumahā, *river*, 47 note
Sumaṇḍala plates, 141
Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, *work*, 212
Sumativijaya, *commentator*, 212
Sumatra, *country*, 28 note
Sumeru, *same as* Meru, *mythical mountain*, 9 note, 12 and note, 13
Sumerujā, *river*, 48 note
Sumha, *country* and *people*, 115, 176
Sumīna, *people*, 32 note
Śunāmukha, *people*, 62 and note
Sunarmada, *people*, 32 note
Sundarbans, *territory*, 84
Sundarī, *Kaliṅga princess*, 137
Śunī, *river*, 48 and note, 54 note
Sun-Kośī, Sun-Kuśī, *same as* Svarṇa-Kauśikī, *river*, 221-22
Supārśva, *people*, 26 note
Suprayogā, *river*, 52 and note
Śūra, *officer*, 238
Surā-samudra, 'sea of wine', 163 note
Surāla, *people*, 32 and note
Suramā, *river*, 56 note
Śūrapāla, *Palā king*, 196
Śūrpanakha, *mistake for* Sūrpāraka, *locality*, 203

Śūrapura, *same as* Hurpor, *town*, 238-39
Surasā, *river*, 47 and note, 56 and note, 57 note
Śūrasena, *a branch of the Yādavas, people*, 21 and note, 102
Śūrasena, Śaurasena, *country*, 71, 79 and note, 102
Surāṣṭra, *people* or *country*, 33 and note, 91, 158, 178 and note, 215
Surāṣṭra-9000, *territory*, 204
Surat District, 198
Surata, *mistake for* Śāryāta, *a branch of the Haihayas*, 35 note
Suraṭha, *same as* Surāṣṭra, *country*, 214-15
Surathā, *river*, 47 note
Sūrpāraka, Śūrpāraka, *people* and *country*, 31 and note, 232 note
Sūryā, *river*, 46 note
Sūryamukha, *mistake for* Sūrpāraka, *locality*, 203
Sūryāraka, *mistake for* Sūrpāraka, *locality* and *people*, 31 note, 232 note
Sūryavaṁśī kings, 99
Sūryavaṁśī Gajapati, *dynasty*. 85
Suṣomā, *river*, 57 note
Sūtika, *people*, 29 note
Sūtra works, 172, 228
Suttanipāta, *work*, 154, 206-07, 213-14, 216, 230 and note
Śutudri, *Vedic form of* Śatadru, *river* 40 note
Suvahā, *river*, 47 note
Suvanā, *variant of* Suvahā, *river*, 47 note
Suvarṇabhūmi, *country*, 59 note, 66 note
Suvarṇagrāma, *same as* Sonārgaon, *town*, 237, 240
Suvarṇapura, *identified with* Sonepur, 146
Suvarṇavarṣa, *title*, 198
Suvela, *hill*, 9, 13
Śvabhra, *country*, 215
Śvabhravatī, *river*, 57 note
Svacchanda-pāṭaka, *locality* 218
Svāpada, *people*, 32 note
Svarda, *country*, 164 note
Svargabhaumaka, *people*, 65 note
Svargabhūmi, *country*, 65 note
Svargabhūmika, *people*, 65 and note
Svarṇabhūṣita, *people*, 65 note
Sva-vīry-ādhigata-rājya, *epithet*, 8
Śvetadvīpapati, *same as* Viṣṇu, *god*, 181 note
Śvetagiri, *hill*, 74, 86
Śvetavarāha, Śvetāvarāhasvāmin, *god*, 217-18, 222, 223 and note
Swat-Kashmir region, 103
Swat valley, 202, 231
Śyāma, Syāṁ, Syam, *derived from* Sien, *people*, 59 note
Syāma-raṭṭha, *same as* Siam, *country*, 59 note
Śyenī, *river*, 47 note
Sylhet, *territory*, 97, 125 note, 167-68
Syr Darya, *same as* Jaxartes, *river*, 59 note, 163

T

Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī, *work*, 126 note, 165-70
Tadzhik Republic, 60 note
Tagare-mahāgrāma, *group of villages*, 205 note
Tailaṅga, Tailiṅga, *country*, 71, 75, 76 and note, 88 and note, 89, 92
Tailaṅga, Telugu, *a class of South Indian Brāhmaṇas*, 16
Taipura, *people*, 34 note
Tairabhukti, *same as* Tīrabhukti, *country*, 78, 94, 99
Taittirika, *people*, 32 note
Takkola, *locality*, 66 note
Takṣaśilā, *city*, 24 note, 62 note, 159, 191, 231
Takṣaka, *Nāga*, 121 note
Talagāna, *people*, 26
Talanāga, *a variant of* Talagāna, *people*, 26 note
Tālajaṁgha, *a branch of the Haihayas*, 35 note
Tālakūna, *people*, 26 note
Tālīkaṭa, *people* and *locality*, 31 and note
Talikoṭa, *locality*, 90
Tāmara, Tomara, *people*, 37 and note, 38 and note
Tāmasa, *people*, 26 note, 32 and note, 37 note
Tamasā, Tāmasī, *same as* Tons, *river*, 47 and note
Tamba-6, *group of villages*, 199
Tambara, *people*, 35 note
Tambraphede, *locality*, 222
Tāmbravari, *same as* Tāmraparṇī, *river*, 52 note
Tambura, *people*, 32 note
Tamil land, 192
Tamiḷa, *a section of the Drāviḍa Brāhmaṇas*, 121
Tamluk, *locality*, 29 note, 140, 177
Tampāka, Tampaka, *people*, 61 note
Tāmrā-Aruṇā, *river*, 43 note
Tāmralipta, *same as* Tāmralipti, *city* and *people*, 64 and note, 139, 156-57, 159, 175, 177, 181, 191
Tāmraliptaka, *people*, 28, 29, note
Tāmralipti, Tāmraliptika, *locality*, 115, 140, 155, 174, 177, 191

Tāmraparṇī, *river*, 75, 90
Tāmraparṇī, Tāmravarṇī, *river*, 7, 52 and note, 54 note, 56 and note, 57 note, 188
Tāmraparṇī, *a Division of Bhāratavarṣa*, 5 note
Tāmravarṇā, *river*, 43 note
Tanaka, Tānaka, *people*, 26 note
Tanapa, *people*, 26 note
Tanasa, *people*, 26 note
Tanda, *city*. 133
Ṭaṅgaṇa, Taṅgaṇa, *people* and *country*, 26 and note, 36 and note, 61 and note, 63 note, 71, 103
Taṅgaṇāpura, *city*, 26 note
Tanjavur, *town* and *district*, 29 note, 88-89
Tantrasāra, work, 69 and note
Tāpasa, *people*, 32 note
Tāpī, *river*, 46 note, 50 and note, 56 and note, 57 note, 76 and note, 91
Taprobane, Tāmraparṇī, *same as* Ceylon, 250
Taptakuṇḍa, *locality*, 77-78, 95, 99
Tāptī, *same as* Tāpī, *river*, 50 note, 91, 106
Tāranātha, *Tibetan author*, 134
Tārikh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī, work, 148
Tarūpaṇa, *people*, 32 note
Taxila, *same as* Takṣaśilā, *city*, 157, 191
Teesta, *same as* Trisrotas, *river*, 42 note
Telugu language, 136
Telugu-Coḍa, *dynsasty*, 92
Teluṅga, *a section of the Drāviḍa Brāhmaṇas*, 121
Tewar, *locality*, 34 note
Thakkana, *Śāhi king*, 234
Thana District, 88, 203
Thanesvar, *locality*, 42 note, 91, 101, 113
Thar, *same as* Rājputāna desert, 91
Tharpura, *people*, 35 note
Thumboor, *locality*, 222
Tibet, *country*, 24 note, 96
Tibetan people, 96
Tilakhala, *a branch of the Śālvas*, 21 note
Tilaṅga, Tiliṅga, *people* and *country*, 22 note, 89
Tillītaka, *people*, 31 note
Tippera District, 87, 126, 168-69, 171
Tīrabhukti, *same as* Tirhut Divisior, 94, 193-94, 260
Tirhut, *territory*, 42 note, 94, 193
Tirmidh, *locality*, 44
tīrtha, 'holy place', 86, 107, 218, 225
Tīrthacintāmaṇi, work, 181
Tīrthasāra, work, 181
Tiruchirappalli District, 29 note 92
Tiru-malai, *hill*, 2, 124-25, 189
Tirunelveli District, 10, 29 note, 52 note
Tirupati, *locality*, 86, 108
Tittira Jātaka, work, 66 note
Tomara, *people* or *country*, 23 , 26 and note, 37 and note, 67 and note
Tons, *same as* Tamasā, *river*, 47 note
Toṇvā, *river*, 51 note
Tope, same as *stūpa*, 228
Toramāna, *Hūṇa king*, 101, 233
Tosala, *people* or *country*, 32 note, 34 and note, 136
Tosala, Tosalā, *city* and *country*, 134, 152
Tosalī, *city* and *country*, 34 note, 134, 141-142, 144, 152
Toyā, *river*, 51 note
Trailokyacandra, *Candra king*, 125-26
Trailokyavijayā, *goddess*, 81, 108
Traipura, *people*, 32 note, 34 note, 232 note
Trapura, *people*, 34 note
Trasa, *people*, 36 note
Travancore hills, *same as* Malaya mountain, 11-12, 23, note, 52 note, 53 note, 89
Tribhāgā, *river*, 53 note
Tridivā, *river*, 45 note, 48 and note, 53 and note
Tridivācalā, *river*, 53 note
Tridivāyānā, *river*, 53 note
Trigarta, *people* and *country*, 37 and note
Triguṇāvarta, *locality*, 81 and note
Trikāṇḍaśeṣa, work, 17, 114, 208, 241
Trikūṭa, *territory*, 189
Trikūṭa-Malay-ādhipati, title, 189
Trilocanapāla, *king*, 234
Trilokasundarī, *Kaliṅga princess*, 137
Trimbak-Nasik, *district*, 167
Tripura, Tripurī, *same as* Tewar, *locality*, 34 note
Tripurā, *same as* Tippera, *locality*, 74, 86-87, 129
Trisāgā, *river*, 53 note
Trisāmā, *river*, 53 and note, 56 note, 57 and note
Trisāndhya, *river*, 57 note
Trisrotas, *river*, 42 note
Trivandrum, *city*, 85
Tṛtīyā, *river*, 42 note
Triyāmā, *river*, 57 note
Triyaṁbaka, *deity* and *locality*, 74 and note
Tryambaka, Triyambaka, *deity* and *locality*, 87
Tughluq dynasty, 148
Tughluq Shāh, *same as* Ghiyāsuddīn, *Sultān*, 126
Tukhāra, Tuṣāra, *people*, 25 and note, 32 note, 61 note, 214

Tukhāristān, *country*, 25 note
Tumain, *locality*, 32 note, 35 note, 214
Tumān, *same as* Tummāna, *locality*, 35 note
Tumaṇa, *people*, 26 note
Tumbāna, Tummāna, *people* and *locality*, 35 and note
Tumbavana, *locality* and *people*, 32 and note, 35 and note, 213, 214 and note
Tumbavananagara, *city*, 213
Tumbula, *people*, 35 note
Tumboor, *river*, 222
Tumbura, Tumbara, *people*, 35
Tumkūr, *locality*, 190-91
Tummāna, *same as* Tumān, *locality*, 35 note
Tumura, *people*, 35
Tundikera, Tuṇḍikera, *a branch of the Haihayas*, 35 and note
Tuṇḍikeśa, *same as* Tundikera, *people*, 35 note
Tuṅgā, *river*, 89
Tuṅgabhadrā, *river*, 52 and note, 57 note
Tuṅgakūṭa, *holy spot*, 220
Tuṅgaṇa, *same as* Taṅgaṇa, *people*, 26 note
Turaga, *people*, 35 note
Turamina, *people*, 32
Turk, *people*, 233, 235
Turkish Musalmans, 20, 233
Turkish Sulṭāns of Delhi, 89
Turnapāda, *people*, 27 note
Turuṣka, Turuṣkaka, *people*, 7, 20, 232 note
Tuṣāra, Tukhāra, *people*, 25 and note, 32 note, 61 and note
Tuṣṭikāra, *people*, 35 note
Tvaṣṭa, *people*, 36 note

U

Ucchrala, *people*, 31 note
Udabhāṇḍa, Udabhāṇḍapura, *city*, 24 note, 43 note, 231, 233
Udahāṇḍa, *same as* Udabhāṇḍa, *city*, 43 note, 233
Udaipur inscription, 204
Udakadhāra, *people*, 24 note
Udakahāṇḍa, *same as* Udabhāṇḍa, *city*, 235
Udāna, *work*, 230
Udaya, *mythical mountain*, 9, 12 and note, 13, 184
Udayāditya, *Paramāra king*, 199 note
Udbhida, *people*, 31 and note
Udbhira, *same as* Udbhida, people, 31 note
Uddaṇḍapura, *same as* Biharsharif, *locality*, 119
Udīcya-deśa, *country*, 37 note, 73, 151 and note
Uḍipi, *locality*, 86
Uḍra, Oḍra, *people* and *territory*, 134, 136, 142, 143 and note, 144-45
Udumbara, *a branch of the Śālvas*, 21 note
Udunpur, *locality*, 119
Uḍupapura, *same as* Uḍipi, *locality*, 74, 86
Udyānaka-maru, *territory* and *people*, 66
Udyānamaskara, *territory* and *people*, 66 note
Ujjain, *same as* Ujjayinī, *city*, 22 note, 43 note, 46 note, 90, 206, 242, 243 note, 244, 250
Ujjayinī, *city*, 43 note, 46 note, 50 note, 69, 74, 87, 91-92, 154, 207, 209, 214-15
Ujjeni, *same as* Ujjayinī, *city*, 206, 213
Ukhurria Ghaut, *locality*, 222
Ulida, *people*, 31 note
Umā-kuṇḍa, *holy pool*, 220
Und, *locality*, 24 note, 43 note, 44, 232
Undikavatika grant, 152
Upakāna, *people*, 64 and note
Upaṅka, *title*, 217
Upaniveśa, Upaniveśya, *people*, 25 and note
Upāvṛit, *people* and *territory*, 178 note
Uraga, *people*, 62 and note
Uragapura, *city*, 191 note
Uragavagga, *work*, 216 note
Urasā, *country*, 26 note, 191
Ūrdhamanu, *people*, 62 note
Ūrdhvamaru, *people*, 62 and note
Urjjaguda, *people*, 61 note
Urṇa, Ūrṇa, *people*, 27 and note, 36 note
Urnai, *locality*, 40 note
Urvasa, *people*, 62 note
Urvaśī-kuṇḍa *holy pool*, 219
Uśīrā, *river*, 39 note
Uṣṭrakarṇa, *people*, 65 and note
Utkala, *people* and *country*, 33 and note, 34 note, 71, 78 and note, 84, 100, 135, 138, 141-43, 176
Utkala, *a section of North Indian Brāhmaṇas*, 16, 121
Utpala, *commentator*, 44
Utpalāvatī, *river*, 52 and note, 53 note, 57 note
Uttamabhadra, *people*, 34 note
Uttamaka, *people*, 34 and note
Uttamarṇa, Uttamaka, *people*, 34 and note
Uttara-Kośala, *country*, 22 note, 212 and note

Uttarakuru, *Mahā-dvīpa*, 9 note
Uttara-Narmada, *people*, 32 and note
Uttarāpatha, *country*, 27 note, 57 note, 73, 172, 173 note, 231, 235
Uttararāmacarita, *work*, 247
Uttara-Tośala, Uttara Tosalī, *people* and *territory*, 34 note, 141-44
Uttar Pradesh State (U. P.), 16, 21 note, 26 note, 37 note, 41 note, 42 note, 97, 116, 172, 192, 198

V

Vācaspati-miśra, *author*, 181
vāḍa, 'village', 210
Vādā-chaturaśīti, *district*, 198
Vaḍapadraka, *village*, 198
Vadāti, *people*, 61 note
Vāḍhadhāna, Vāḍhavāna, *people*, 23 note
Vadhūsarā, *river*, 39 note
Vāguri, *territory*, 202
Vahela, *people*, 35 note
Vahi, *demon*, 186
Vāhika, Vāhīka, Bāhīka, *country* and 184-87 *people*, 94,
Vāhlika, Vāhlīka, *country* and *people*, 71, 77, 184-85
Vaidarbha, Vidarbha, *people*, 30 note, 71, 75-76, 79, 106
Vaidarbha style, 117, 151
Vaideha, Vaidehaka, *people*, 213
Vaidika, *people*, 34 note
Vaidikavaiṣṇavasadācāra, *work*, 70
Vaidiśa, *people*, 32 note, 34 note, 207
Vaidyanātha, *same as* Baidyanāth-dhām, *locality*, 74, 83
Vaidyanātha-Mahādeva, *god*, 84
Vaigai, *same as* Kṛtamālā, *river*, 52 note, 188
Vaihand, *same as* Und, *city*, 43 note, 44, 232-33
Vaihāyasī, *river*, 57 note
Vaijayantī, *work*, 29 note, 231 and note
Vaijayantī, *city*, 158
Vairajanātha, *deity* and *locality*, 28 and note, 109
Vairāṭa, *same as* Virāṭa, *country*, 71, 76 and note, 79 and note, 93, 105
Vaiśikya, *people*, 30 note
Vaiṣṇava, *religious sect*, 195
Vaiśvānara-kuṇḍa, *holy pool*, 220
Vaiśya, *people*, 25 note
Vaiśyatā, *river*, 51 note
Vaitaraṇī, *river*, 50 and note, 84, 138, 141
Vaivasvata Manu, 3 note
Vājeya, *people*, 32 note
Vājika, *people*, 30 note
Vājikāśika, *people*, 30 note
Vajivāsika, *people*, 29 note
Vajrabhava, *locality*, 220
Vajreśīmukha, *locality*, 81 and note
Vaka, *people*, 27 note
Vākāṭaka, *dynasty*, 140, 150-51, 153-55, 158
Vakrānta, *country*, 77 and note, 95
Vakṣu, *same as* Oxus, *river*, 42 note, 59 note
Valadantika, *people*, 28 note
Valākā, *river*, 50 note
Valgudar, *village*, 194-97,
Valguvāhinī, *river*, 49 note
Vālhīka, *same as* Balkh, *territory*, 23 and note, 184-85
Vallabha, *commentator*, 42 note, 212
Vallālacarita, *work*, 167
Vālukā, *river*, 54 note
Vālyā, *locality*, 38 note
Vāmana, Vāmanasvāmin, *god*, 241
Vāmana Purāṇa, *work*, 17, 19-20, 21 and note, 23 note, 24 note, 25 note, note, 26 note, 27 note, 28 note, 29 note, 30 note, 31 note, 32 note, 33 note, 34 note, 35 note, 36 note, 37 note, 39 and note, 40 note, 41 note, 42 note, 43 note, 45 note, 46 note, 47 note, 48 note, 49 note, 50 note, 51 note, 52 note, 53 note, 54 note, 188, 227
Vāmanasvāmin, *god*, 241
Vambhaṇavāhaka, Brāhmaṇavāhaka, *same as* Bahmanābād, *locality*, 202
Vaṁkshu, *same as* Oxus, *river*, 184
Vaṁśadharā, *river*, 54 and note
Vaṁśadhāriṇī, *river*, 54 note
Vaṁśakarā, *river*, 54 note
Vaṁśapatha, *country*, 66 note
Vanadāraka, *people*, 31 note
Vanasāvatthi, Vanaśrāvasti, *locality*, 213
Vanasavhaya, Vanasāhvaya, *locality*, 206, 213
Vanāṭa, *country*, 71
Vanavāsa, *city*, 156 note
Vanavāsaka, *people*, 29, 30 and note
Vanavāsī, *city* and *territory*, 153, 213
Vandyaghaṭīya-Sarvānanda, *commentator*, 210
Vaṅga, *country*, 10 and note, 13, 21 note, 27 note, 32 note, 74, 78, 84, 93, 98, 104, 115, 124, 125 and note, 126 and note, 132, 140, 156-58, 166, 168-70, 176, 183-84, 191
Vaṅga, *people*, 21 note, 27 and note, 32 note, 64 and note, 84, 124 and note, 135, 138-39, 140-41, 175-77 179
Vaṅgāla, *identified with the city of* Bengala, 129

Vangāla, *territory*, 115, 123, 124 and note, 125, 126 and note, 129-30, 132 and note, 156
Vaṅgāla, Vaṅgāl, *people*, 123, 127 note, 131, 132 and note
Vangāla-deśa, *territory*, 132
Vaṅgālavaḍā, *locality*, 126
Vaṅgālī, *same as* Bengali, *people*, 131
Vāṅgeya, *people*, 27 note, 28 and note
Vani-Dindori, *territory*, 167
Vañjulā, Vañjulāvatī, *river*, 47 note
Vañjulā, *same as* Mañjīrā, *river*, 48 note, 51 and note, 52 note, 53 note
Vañjurā, *river*, 57 note
Vaṅkṣu, *same as* Oxus, *river*, 7, 13, 42 note, 59 note
Vara, *people*, 30 note
Varadā, *river*, 57 note, 153
Varadatta, *person*, 217
Varadarāja, *author*, 86
Varāha, *an Avatāra of* Viṣṇu, *god*, 219, 221
Varāhachatra, Varāha-kṣetra, *holy place*, 221
Varāhadeva, *god*, 221
Varāha-kṣetra, *same as* Kokāmukha-tīrtha, *holy place*, 218, 221, 223
Varāhamihira, *author*, 115, 143 note, 169, 213
Varāhabhūmi, Barābhūm, *territory*, 98, 114
Varāha Purāṇa, *work*, 57 note, 219-21
Vārāhī, *goddess*, 81 note
Vārāṇasī, *same as* Banāras, *holy place*, 22 note, 73, 173 and note
Vārāṇasī, Vārāṇasī-kaṭaka, Abhinava-Vārāṇasī-kaṭaka, *identified with* Cuttack, *city*, 147-48
Vārāṇāsī, *same as* Vārāṇasī, 181
Varapa, *people*, 61 note
Vardhachatra, *mistake for* Varāha-chatra, 221
Vardhamāna, *town* and *district*, 98, 114-15, 204
Vardhanakūṭa *same as* Bardhankot, *locality*, 93
Varendu, *mistake for* Varendra, *territory*, 204
Varendra, *territory*, 93, 98, 114, 123 note, 170 note
Varendrī, *same as* Varendra, *territory*, 114
Vāridhāna, *people*, 31 note
Vārisenā, *river*, 52 note
Varkala, Varkalai, *locality*, 85
Varṇa, *same as* Bannu, *locality*, 235
Varṇā, *river*, 258
Vārtaghnī, *river*, 45 note, 57 note
Vārtak, *same as* Vārtaghnī, *river*,45 note
Varuṇa, *a Division of Bhāratavarṣa*, 5 note
Varuṇaprastha, *a Tantrik Division of India*, 73, 80-81, 107-08
Varva, *people*, 62 note
Varvara, *country* and *people*, 71, 79-80, 106, 108, 260
Varvara, *people*, 21 note, 25 and note, 60 and note
Vasāti, *people*, 61 and note
Vasco da Gama, *Portuguese sailor*, 250
Vāsika, Vāsikya, *people*, 32 note
Vasiṣṭha-kuṇḍa, *holy pool*, 220
Vasu, *river*, 48 note
Vasumitra, *person*, 217
Vāsudeva, *king*, 169
Vasumatī, 'earth', 163
Vasundharā, *princess*, 150
Vaśyatā, *river*, 51 note
Vāṭadhāna, *people*, 23 and note
Vatsa, *people*, 22 note, 63 note
Vatsagulma, *city*, 151, 153-54, 157-59
Vatsarāja, *king*, 161
Vātsīya, *people*, 33 note
Vātsyāyana, *author*, 83, 193 note
Vāyi-grāmaka, *hamlet*, 218
Vāyu Purāṇa, *work*, 3 note, 5 note, 9 note, 17-20, 21 and note, 22 note, 23 note, 24 note, 25 note, 26 note, 27 note, 28 note, 29 note, 30 note, 31 note, 32 note, 33 note, 34 note, 35 note, 36, note, 37 note, 39 and note, 40 note, 41 note, 42 note, 43 note, 45 note, 46 note, 47 note, 48 note, 49 note, 50 note, 51 note, 52 note, 53 note, 54 note, 55 note, 57 note, 58 note, 59 note, 60 note, 61 note, 62 note, 63 note, 64 note, 65 note, 66 note, 67 note, 135, 157, 188, 226 note, 227 and note
Veda, *work*, 230
Vedabho, *Prakrit form of* Vaidarbha, *people*, 19, 30 note
Vedadhāra, *holy spot*, 219
Vedaratā, *river*, 45
Vedāsinī, Vidāsinī, *river*, 43 note
Vedasmṛti, *river*, 43 note, 45 and note, 55 and note, 57 note
Vedavatī, *river*, 45 and note
Vedic lietrature, 8
Vedic period, 40 note
Vedisa, *same as* Vaidiśa, *town*, 206-07, 213
Vegapura, *same as* Mūltān, *city*, 44
velākūla, 'harbour', 201
Velāpur, *locality*, 159
Vellore, *locality*, 90
Veṇa, *people* and *country*, 213
Veṇā, *river*, 51 note
Veṅgī, *identified with* Pedda Vegi, *city*, 135

Veṅgī, *territory*, 136
Veṅgīpura-viṣaya-grāma-sahasra, *territory*, 200
Veṅgī-sahasra, *territory*, 200
Veṅkaṭa II, *king*, 69
Veṅkaṭeśa, *god* and *locality*, 74
Veṅkaṭeśa, Veṅkaṭeśvara, *deity*, 85-86
Veṇumatī, *river*, 43 note, 46 note
Veṇvā, *river*, 45 note, 50 and note, 51 and note, 52 note, 57 note
Veṇyā, Veṇā, *river*, 50 note, 52 note
Verāpatha, *locality* or *pass* 66 note
Vesālī, *same as* Vaiśālī, *city*, 206
Vettâcāra, Vettādhāra, *same as* Vetrāpatha, *locality* or *pass*, 66 note
Vetrāpatha, *locality* or *pass*, 59 note
Vetraśaṅkupatha, *people* and *locality*, 66 and note
Vetravatī, *same as* Betwa, *river*, 45 note, 46 and note, 92, 151
vibhāṣā, 'Prakrit dialect', 239
vibhedha, 'subdivision', 201
Vidarbha, *people* or *country*, 30 and note, 90, 93, 151, 153, 155, 157-59, 208, 214
Vidarbhā, *mistake for* Vidarbha, *country*, 204
Vidarbhā, *river*, 57 note
Vidāsinī, Vedāsinī, *river*, 43 note
Videha, *country* and *people*, 28 and note, 71, 77, 94, 208
Vidiśā, *identified with* Besnagar, *city*, 34 note, 91, 151, 206, 208, 214
Vidiśā, *river*. 43 note, 45 and note
Vidushā, *river*, 46 note
Vidyādhara, *mythical people*, 62 and note, 67 and note
Vidyāpati, *author*, 180
Vignorla, *geographer*, 130 note
Vigraha, *dynasty*, 141-42, 144
Vigrahapāla II, *Pāla king*, 13
Vigrahapāla III, *Pāla king*, 13
Vihekarāta-miśra, *person*, 193
Vijayabāhu I, *Ceylonese king*, 137
Vijaya-Daśanapura, *same as* Daśanapura, *city*, 150
Vijayanagara, *city* and *territory*, 11, 69, 85, 89-90, 157, 192
Vijayānanda-sūri, *commentator*, 212
Vijayanandir, *person*, 217
Vijayavāḍa, *locality*, 189
Vijjala, *Kalacurya king*, 124
Vijñāneśvara, *commentator*, 10
Vikrama, *identified with* Candragupta II Vikramāditya, *king*, 150
Vikramabāhu, *Ceylonese prince*, 137
Vikramāditya II, *Cālukya king*, 152
Vikramāditya VI, *Cālukya king*, 10 and note, 156
Vikramāṅkadevacarita, *work*, 156
Vikramapura, *city* and *territory*, 84, 166-67, 169-70, 240
Vikrampur, *same as* Vikramapura, *locality*, 125 and note, 166
Vimalā, *river*, 47 note, 54 note
Vimalā, *deity*, 84
Vimānavatthu, *work*, 66 note
Vinaśana, *locality*, 40 note, 173 note, 241
Vinayacandra, *author*, 204
Vinayapiṭaka, *work*, 211, 212 and note, 215, 229
Vinayatilaka, *village*, 125 note
Vindhya, *mountain*, 14, 30 note, 34 note, 37 note, 46 note, 49 note, 51 note, 52 note, 56 and note, 63 note, 64 and note, 73, 76-77, 79, 90-91, 95, 98 99, 102, 120 note, 121 note, 151, 172, 173 note, 212 note
Vindhyamāleya, Vindhyamauleya, *people*, 30 note
Vindhyamūlika, *people*, 30 and note
Vindhyapuṣika, *people*, 30 note
Vindhyaśaileya, *people*, 30 note
Vinnā, *river*, 50 note
Vipāśā, *river*, 39 note, 41 and note, 44, 47 note, 48 and note, 57 note, 185-86
Viprapāla, *person*, 217
Vīracarita, *work*, 242
Vīradharadeva, *king*, 171
Vīrahotra, *mistake for* Vītihotra, *people*, 35 note
Virajā, *identified with* Jājpur, *locality*, 109, 145, 147
Virajā-kṣetra, *same as* Jājpur, *locality*, 109
Vīramaru, *people* and *locality*, 61 and note
Vīra-Narasiṁha, *king of Vijayanagara*, 11
Vīra-Rājendra, *Coḷa king*, 156 note
Virāṭa, *country*, 71, 76, 203
Virāṭa, Vairāṭa, *same as* Matsya, *country*, 93, 105
Virāṭanagara, *same as* Bairat, *city*, 105
Virajā, *same as* Jājpur, *locality*, 227
Vīramitrodaya, *work*, 178 note
Visakhapatnam, *town* and *district*, 30 note, 135-36
Visala, *same as* Vigraharāja IV, *Cāhamāna king*, 14
Viśālā, *river*, 43 note
Viśamadrī, *river*, 52 note
viṣaya, 'district', 161, 193, 196, 217, 222, 231, 233
Viṣarjaya, *people*, 61 and note
Viṣṇu, *god*, 181-82, 188, 221, 229, 234
Viṣṇudatta, *person*, 217
Viṣṇudhārā, *holy stream*, 220

Viṣṇukuṇḍin, *dynasty*, 135, 189
Viṣṇupada, Viṣṇupāda, *hill*, 100, 185, 220, 229
Viṣṇu Purāṇa, *work*, 3 note, 18-19, 37 and note, 38 note, 55 and note, 56 note, 214-15, 227
Viṣṇu-saras, *holy pool*, 220
Viṣṇusaṁhitā, *Viṣṇusmṛti*, *work*, 179, 226
Viṣṇu-tīrtha *holy spot*, 220
Viṣṇuvarman I, *Kadamba king*, 156, 190-91
Viśvā, *river*, 57 note
Viśvamālā, *river*, 50 note
Viśvarūpasena, *king*, 126, 169-70
Viṭaṅkapura, *locality*, 83
Vitastā, *river*, 26 note, 39 note, 41 and note, 43 note, 44, 57 note, 94, 186
vīthikā, 'walk', 247
Vītihotra, *a clan of the Haihayas*, 35 note
Vivarṇa, *people*, 65 and note
Vrataghnī, *river*, 45 note
Vṛka, *people*, 21 note, 22 note
Vṛndāvana, *holy place*, 80, 107
Vṛtraghnī, *river*, 45 and note
Vyaṅkaṭeśa, *god* and *locality*, 81, 108
Vyāsa, *sage*, 18
Vyāsa-Kāśī, *locality*, 99
Vyāseśvara, *god*, 99

W

Waingaṅgā, *river*, 50 note
Wakhan, *territory*, 24 note, 95
Wardha, *river*, 153
Wang Hiuen-tse, *Chinese general*, 246
Warren Hastings, *ruler*, 156
Wellesley District, 116
West Bengal State, 1, 145, 236
Western India, *territorial division*, 172
Wu-ch'a, *identified with* Uḍra, *country*, 149 note
Wu-to-kia-han-cha, *same as* Udakahāṇḍa, *city*, 235 note

X

Xathroi, *same as* Kṣatri, *people*, 25 note
Xatigan, *same as* Chittagong, *port*, 130 note
Xiem, *Annamite name for the* Shan, *people*, 59 note

Y

Yādava, *people*, 21 note, 22 note, 35 note
Yādava, *dynasty*, 104, 159
Yādavaprakāśa, *author*, 17, 231-32
Yājñavalkya, *author*, 227
Yājñavalkyasaṁhitā, *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*, *work*, 10, 227
Yajurveda, *work*, 191
Yakṣa, *mythical people*, 62 and note, 286
Yakṣabāhu, Pakṣabāhu, *count* 204
Yamaka, *people*, 28 note
Yamakoṭi, *mythical city*, 203
Yama-prastha, *a Tantrik Division of India*, 73, 80-81, 107-08
Yamavyasanaka, *locality*, 220
Yamunā, *river*, 2, 39 note, 40 and note, 43 note, 45, 57 note, 102, 172 note, 214, 243 and note
Yāska, *author*, 229
Yaśodhara, *commentator*. 136 note
Yaśodharman, *Aulikara king*, 10
Yaśovarman, *king of Kanauj*. 233 note, 234. 242, 244
Yatstha, *people*, 21 note
Yaudheya, *people*, 22 note
Yavana, *people*, 20, 24 and note, 60, 71, 93, 204, 232 note
Yāvana, *same as* Yavana, *people*, 204
Yavasa, *people*, 60 note
Yāyapura, Yājapura, *same as* Jājpur, *locality*, 145
Yayātinagara, Yayātipura, *identified with* Jājpur 146-48
Yāyāvarīya, *author*, 241
Yelamanchilli Taluk, 136
Yeou-chi-lo, *same as* Mount Uśir.., 211
Yi-tsing, *Chinese traveller*, 211
Yodha, *people*, 21
Yodheya, Yaudheya, *people*, 21,22 and note
Yoginī, *locality*, 77 and note
Yoginī, *deity*, 97
Yoginīpura, *city*, 80 and note, 97, 107
Yoginī Tantra. *work*. 87
Yojana, *measure of distance*, 5 and note, 9 note, 45, 88, 92, 226. 244
Yona-dūta, *Yavana-dūta*, 'Greek ambassador', 208
Yoni-pīṭha, 87
You-hi, 'bull-joy', 207
Yudhiṣṭhira, *epic king*, 6, 175
Yugala, Puṅgala, *country*, 203
Yugandhara, *a branch of the Śālvas*, 21 note
Yuvarāja, *Kalacuri king*, 200

Z

zam, 'eighth', 250
Zaradros, *same as* Śatadru, *river*, 40 note
Zaranj, *locality*, 235 note
Ziāuddīn Baranī, *Muslim historian*, 170
Zoroastrians of Sogdiana, 44
Zulfiqār Ali Khān, *Nawab of the Carnatic*, 69, 90
Zumbīl, *Janapāla*, *official designation*, 235 note